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PRONOMINALIZATION IN EFIK

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SUMMARY

This thesis is primarily an investigation into Pronominalization in Efik. Pronominalization is treated from a basically Chomskian point of view as a general term for a number of related processes each of which is explicitly formulated as a rule. These are reflexivization, simple pronominalization, possessive pronominalization and relativization by which reflexive, anaphoric personal, possessive and relative pronouns respectively are derived. As rules they all operate on Noun Phrases (NPs) under certain conditions. One such condition is coreference. In general NPs on which a rule of pronominalization has operated may (and in fact in some cases must) be deleted under certain conditions one of which is also coreference. In this way, Pronominalization and NP Deletion are related.

GLOSSES

Translations into English are word for word. In many cases, such English translations are either ungrammatical or obscure. Efforts will be made to explain some cases of obscurity. In some cases where a word, for example a personal name or place name, is obvious, no translation is made, as in the following examples:

Bassey eyeka do : 'Bassey will go there'
1 2 1 2

Ime odu ke Uyo : 'Ime is at Uyo'
1 2 1 2

Ikɔ Efik okpon mbet,

Etiŋ usuk, eyak usuk.

(E.N. Amaku)

'The Efik language has many rules,

Certain things can be said, and

certain things cannot be said'.

CHAPTER ONE

INTRODUCTION

1.1 The Efik Language, Where It Is Spoken and by Whom:

Efik is spoken by about three million people in the South-Eastern State of Nigeria. The South-Eastern State itself was part of the former Eastern Nigeria before it became an autonomous State on May 27th, 1967, when by Decree the present Military Government headed by General Gowon split the country into twelve autonomous States. Before this date, there were only four States which were then known as 'Regions'. It will be recalled that recently former Eastern Nigeria tried unsuccess-:fully to break away from the Federation of Nigeria. This led to the Civil War which ended on the 14th of January, 1970. What is now South-Eastern State before the creation of the twelve States consisted of Ogoja, Calabar, Uyo and Anang Provinces, the last three of which were often referred to as 'Old Calabar Province'. Old Calabar Province was in fact one Province in the colonial days before it was split into three Provinces by the Government of the former Eastern Nigeria, after independence in 1960. The Provinces of Uyo, Calabar and Anang correspond to Ibibio, Efik and Anang, respectively. These are the three main dialects of Efik.

Of the three million speakers, about half of a million are non-:native speakers mostly people from neighbouring Ogoja Province. Some of the Ogoja or 'Atam', the Efik name for Ogoja, people must have learned Efik through trade contact. However, a majority seem to have learnt it through formal tuition in primary schools. In this Province there are so many small languages that, as my wife, who once lived there, remarked, "almost every village speaks its own language". And a village may be just over several hundred people. It is no surprise /

surprise, then, that Efik spoken in the three neighbouring Provinces of Calabar, Uyo and Anang had to be used and I believe is still being used in primary schools in the 'non-Calabar' Province of Ogoja. It is for the same reason that English is still being used in the country as a whole as the official language, in spite of national pride.

1.2 Dialects

Leaving for the moment the status of Oron, Eket and Ibuno, Efik has three main dialects corresponding to the region or area where they are found. These are Calabar Efik, or the so-called Efik proper, Ibibio and Anang. Of the three, the Calabar dialect is the most prestigious and the one most commonly used in schools, broadcasting, customary courts and churches, in settings where English cannot be used. This dialect is spoken in Calabar Province, Enyiong and parts of Itu in Uyo Province. Its prestige is primarily a consequence of its having been written first by reason of its first contact with early missionaries who landed in Calabar Town, which opens into the sea. Calabar as a seaport has had a long contact with Western Europeans dating as far back as the seventeenth century or even earlier. In fact, according to Hair (1967:71) the name 'Calabar', which is supposedly derived from an Ijaw name 'Culeba/Okolaba', "was first used by Europeans to mean the section of the Delta around Bonny and Degema ..... Around the middle of the seventeenth century, the name 'Calabar' was also applied to a second trading area, that on the Cross River". The present city of Calabar of course stands at the mouth of the Cross River. So, contrary to popular belief, the name 'Calabar' is apparently not derived from a Portuguese word meaning 'Calm Bar'.

Whatever /

Whatever the origin of 'Calabar', it is certainly not Efik, for as we shall see later on, Efik does not have the sound 'l', nor does 'r' occur in final positions.

Calabar was important not only as a trading centre but also as the Capital of Nigeria before the Capital was moved to the City of Lagos. These factors added immensely to the prestige of Efik proper. Furthermore, the Efiks are by nature a proud and cultivated people, very conscious of their enviable past of wealth, glories and influence. They like good food, good clothes, good music, good poetry and good leisure. Above all, they love the Efik language, because for them it is music and poetry itself.

The Ibibios and the Anangs, on the other hand, handicapped initially by being land-locked were more or less provincial in outlook. However, they too can look back to a proud heritage of adventure, sheer hardiness and enterprise. Thus they are often scornful of the Efiks for what they call 'ikpɔ-inua' (talking big), and living in the past. For them, the Efiks' love of leisure is just laziness. In actual fact, however, the division of traits is not so sharp: there are just as many hardy and enterprising Efiks as there are cultivated and pleasure loving Ibibios and Anangs. In addition, there are many more traits they all have in common, which are beyond the scope of this thesis to go into. After all, they are all 'Okop Usem', a term which I shall explain later on.

The prestige of Ibibio and Anang is on the increase partly because of what may be called the 'educational boom' in Ibibio and Anang lands. Coupled with the characteristic enterprise of the people, they have tended, in recent years, to dominate nearly all fields of endeavour in the /

the new South Eastern State, a situation strongly resented by the Efiks. In addition, a good many Ibibios and Anangs hold responsible and influential positions outside the State in other parts of the country. Naturally, this influence is bound to affect the dialects these people speak, just as the dominant influence of the Efiks in the early days enhanced the prestige of their dialect, Efik proper. This is evident in what has come to be considered the standard language - Efik-Ibibio, a combination of Efik and Ibibio, as the name clearly suggests. In a Languages & Dialects map of Nigeria published by the Federal Ministry of Surveys, Lagos, 1969, it is interesting to note that Efik-Ibibio is shown as the standard language for the Old Calabar Province part of the South-Eastern State. It is worth noting that as far back as in the 1930s, it was recognised that although the Calabar dialect was the standard dialect, other dialects, notably Ibibio, could not be overlooked. Thus in an introduction to the Adams (1939:1) English-Efik Vocabulary, H.W. McCowan, the then Director of Education in Nigeria had this to say:

> "When Mr. Gaskin retired in 1932, Mr. Adams called a meeting of the leading missionary authorities on the language to discuss the position. Those attending were emphatic on the need for the continuation of the work, and so Mr. Adams, with the help of these gentlemen and many representative Efik and Ibibio born speakers, proceeded with the task of compilation which is now nearing its end.
>
> The basis of the book is the Efik spoken in Calabar, but in view of the widespread use of this dialect in other literary works, it is hoped that the vocabulary will be of great use to all members of /

of the Efik-Ibibio race."

Adams himself in his own introduction said, "a few notes are necessary to make perusal of the vocabulary easier for the native Efik-Ibibio user" and went on in the body of the Dictionary to provide a lot of alternative Ibibio words alongside their Efik equivalents. For example, for cassava, he gave iwa as Efik and ntɔrɔrɔ as Ibibio, and for clothing he gave ɔfɔŋ-idem as Efik and mfɔrɔ-idem as Ibibio. However, I personally do not have mfɔrɔ-idem in my Ibibio but the Efik form. This is partly due to the fact that we in some parts of Itu speak partly Efik and partly Ibibio.

Welmers (1968) also recognised the existence of Efik-Ibibio as is evident in his remark:

> "Efik is the second largest language (after Igbo to the West) in the Eastern Region of Nigeria. It is sometimes referred to by the hyphenated name Efik-Ibibio, combining the names of two of its major dialects. In these and other dialectal forms such as Anang, it is spoken by perhaps two million people" (p.i).

There are, however, some people, mostly outsiders, who claim that Efik, Ibibio and Anang are in fact different languages and not dialects of the same language. In the years before the creation of the twelve States, this was one of the major problems the Efiks, Ibibios and Anangs, who wanted a State of their own on the basis of ethnic affinity, among other things, had to face. For it was argued by those in power to create the State that since Efik, Ibibio and Anang are in fact different languages, rather than dialects, then the speakers of these languages cannot claim to belong to the same ethnic group. Coupled with other arguments whose merits we do not wish /

wish to go into, the legitimate demand of these people was rejected until in 1967.

Unfortunately, Cook (1969:4) has made the same mistake as the politicians, claiming that Efik, Ibibio and Anang are different languages but closely related. In support of his claim, he says:

> "In truth speakers of Anang and Oron can converse with Efiks, not because their languages are mutually intelligible (i.e. dialects) but because they have learned to speak Efik as a second language. Ibibio is in fact so similar to Efik that the two are nearly mutually intelligible, but again some of the similarity is due to Efik influence on Ibibio through its long use as a second language".

Cook appears to be saying

(i) Anang and Oron are not dialects of Efik, because though speakers of Anang and Oron understand and can speak Efik, they do so not because Efik, Anang and Oron are mutually intelligible, but because speakers of Anang and Oron speak Efik as a second language. In which case they have to learn Efik to do so.

(ii) Ibibio and Efik are so similar as to be nearly mutually intelligible because of the influence of Efik on Ibibio, since the former is spoken as a second language by speakers of the latter.

Now, let us look at Efik vis-a-vis Anang and Oron. I do not wish to commit myself either way with regard to Oron vis-a-vis Efik, since no analysis of Oron has yet been made. However, if Efik speakers do not understand Oron, it is important to know that neither do /

do Ibibio and Anang speakers. The same is true of Eket and Ibuno. Again since no analyses have been made of these tongues, it is difficult at the moment to say whether or not they are dialects of Efik.

As far as Anang, however, is concerned, there is little doubt that it is a dialect of Efik, since speakers of Efik also understand Anang, without learning it. The problem with Anang vis-a-vis Efik is not that Efiks do not understand Anang but that they think that Anang is inferior Efik. Similarly, Anang speakers understand Efik without learning it. In fact there are only two effective ways in which speakers of Anang could have learnt Efik to use it at the scale they now do: namely by formal tuition in school, or by living in Efikland, or both. However, according to a Federal Ministry of Information document published in 1972, the illiteracy rate in Nigeria is 40% of the population. Yet this 40% of people in Anangland who have never been to school where they could have learnt Efik and who may never have set foot in Efikland understand broad-:casts, church sermons and customary court proceedings in Efik. Moreover, an Anang child who goes to school for the first time receives instructions in Efik the first day he arrives in school. He does not have to learn the language first to understand it. What he does, however, learn is to read and write the language he has already known. In my view the only way to explain the above facts is that Efik and Anang are dialects of the same language. The same facts also apply in the Ibibio case: speakers of Ibibio understand Efik without learning it and speakers of Efik understand Ibibio without /

without learning it.

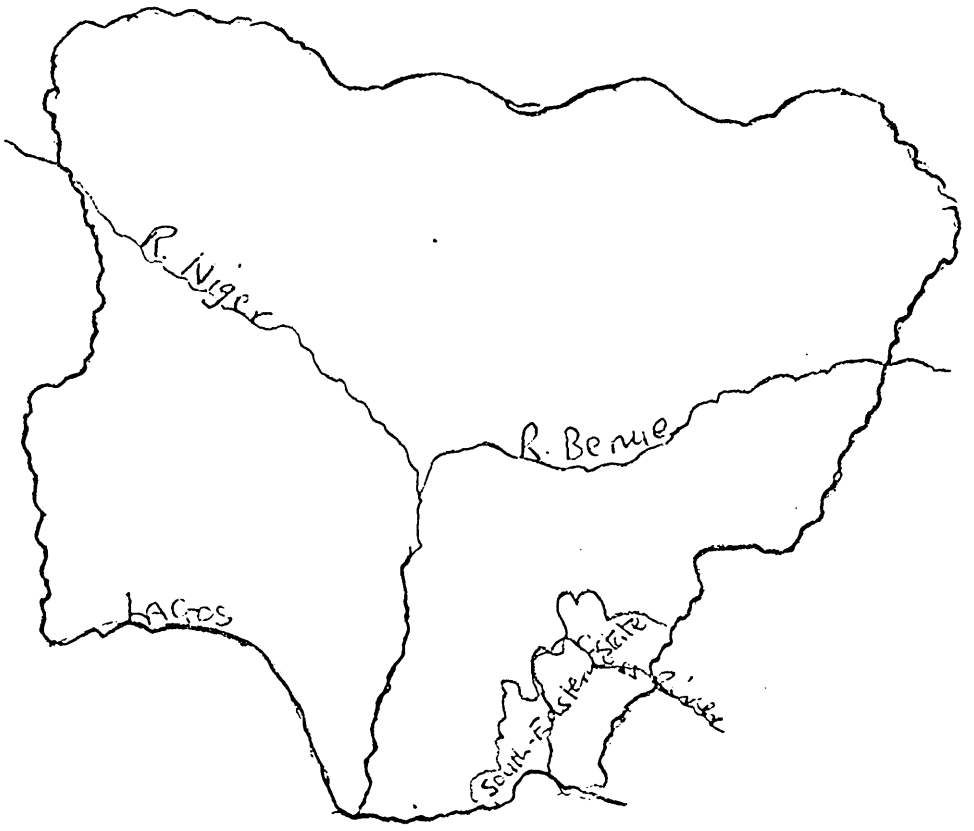
In the circumstances, Efik must be seen as a cluster of dialects consisting of Calabar Efik, Ibibio and Anang, with Efik as the officially recognised name of the language, though in recent years, Efik-Ibibio is felt to be a more suitable name. The situation is somewhat like Akan, a Ghananian language. According to Brown (1972:1-3) "Akan is now officially recognised name for the language" but "the Akan (Twi-Fante) 'dialect cluster' is said by Westerman and Bryan to consist of four main dialects: Akwapem, Akem..., Asante... and Fante".

In recognition of the fact that Efik, Ibibio and Anang are dialects of the same language, there is a term used by speakers of these dialects to refer to one another, namely okop usem (one who speaks the same language as the speaker and hearer). Although okop usem is not directly translatable as 'dialect', it comes close to that. 'Dialect' refers to the variations in the language itself, whereas okop usem refers to the people who speak varieties of the same language. It is interesting to note that okop usem is never used to include people from other linguistic groups, like the Ibos, for example, even if they speak Efik, or a dialect of it.

It is worth pointing out that the differences among these dialects are purely regional. It is also worth pointing out that Ibibio appears to be closer to Efik than Anang, because it is also physically closer to Efik than Anang is. The Ibibios are separated from the Efiks by the Cross River. Between the Efiks and the Anangs, the Ibibios intervene. So it is not surprising that Ibibio is closer /

closer to Efik than Anang is. Within Ibibio itself, there are some areas whose dialects are a mixture of Efik and Ibibio. Some parts of Itu, where I come from, are a fine example. Often speakers in such areas were derided because they were said to speak Ikɔ Efik Ikɔt ɔbɔŋ (Efik spoken by Ikɔt ɔbɔŋ people), which meant adulterated Efik. Ikɔt ɔbɔŋ by the way is close to Itu Town, where Efik proper is also spoken. Geographically, Itu stands on the other side of the Cross River. Ikɔt ɔbɔŋ is one of the transitional areas between Efik and Ibibio. Today, Ikɔ Efik Ikɔt ɔbɔŋ is of course Efik-Ibibio, which has now become the official name for Efik 'dialect cluster'. In my view, however, this name still discriminates against Anang.

On page 10 are two rough maps. Fig. (i) shows the location of the South-Eastern State in Nigeria, while Fig. (ii) shows the three main dialects of Efik in the South-Eastern State itself.



(i) NIGERIA

A = Anang
IB = Ibibio
E = Efik

(ii) South-Eastern State

1.3 Family:

In one of the earliest books on the Efik language, Goldie (1862) divides the languages of Africa South of the Sahara into two big families, namely the Nilo-Hamitic, which comprises those languages South of the Equator, and the Nigro-Hamitic, comprising those languages North of the Equator. As Nigeria is North of the Equator, Efik falls within the Nigro-Hamitic family in this classification. The languages of Nilo-Hamitic family are said to be much more connected with each other than those of the Nigro-Hamitic, "which, however, have many affinities with each other, especially in all important forms of grammar and idioms". However, the two big families "have so many points of connexion as to form one great family, more closely allied to each other than many of the languages grouped together under the denomination of Indo-European", according to Goldie.

However, languages in Africa are no longer classified in the above fashion. Today, Efik is generally considered to belong to the West Sudan group of the Sudanic languages. But in the latest classification, which is widely accepted, Greenberg (1966:6ff) groups Efik in the Benue-Congo sub-family of the Niger-Congo family. According to him, Niger-Congo includes languages of the West Sudanic Stock, Bantu and those he calls 'Adamawa Eastern'. He prefers the name 'Niger-Congo', because for him it is of a "non-committal geographic nature ... from the two great rivers (Niger and Congo) in whose basins these languages predominate". The Benue-Congo sub-:family is said to be very close to another sub-family, the Kwa, to which Igbo, one of the three main languages of Nigeria spoken in the neighbouring /

neighbouring East-Central State, belongs. Ijaw, spoken in another neighbouring State of Rivers, and Yoruba, the second of the three main languages of Nigeria, are also said to belong to the Kwa group. One of the criteria for Efik membership in the Niger-Congo family is morphological. Greenberg says "the trait of the Niger-Congo morphology which provides the main material for comparison is the system of noun classification by pair of affixes, one singular and another for the plural". This classificational system is fairly typical of Bantu noun prefixes. Such a system has survived in a very small number of nouns as shown below:-

Singular	Plural
e-didem (king)	n-didem (kings)
a-kparawa (young man)	ŋ-kparawa (young men)
ɔ-bɔŋ (chief)	m-bɔŋ (chiefs)

and in a great many adjectives, which must agree with the nouns they modify in number:-

Singular	Plural
a-nyan owo (a tall man)	n-nyan owo (tall men)
o-bufa eso (a new pot)	m-bufa eso (new pots)
a-kani eduat (an old sword)	ŋ-kani eduat (old swords)

where the vowel and nasal prefixes alternate indicating singularity and plurarity respectively. There are other criteria including similarities in lexical items, and adjective and noun concord which Efik, as shown above clearly manifests.

Efik is often regarded as very closely related to the Bantu family of languages. Winston (1970) clearly illustrates this. In this /

this article, Winston shows that there are other similarities, besides resemblances in vocabulary, between Efik and the Bantu languages. These similarities involve what Winston calls 'features of linguistic structure', where structure for him is widely used "to embrace any aspect of the language that is not associated simply with individual items". Some of these features of structure include nominal classification, lexical alternation of prefix of the kind shown above, semantic grouping, verbal extension and copular con-:structions.

1.4 Linguistic Works on Efik

Not much has yet been done on Efik. Of the Nigerian languages, it is the three main ones - Hausa, Yoruba and Igbo - on which much attention has been focused. However, there is what Cook (1969:xi) calls 'a respectable tradition of Efik language scholarship, now more than a century old'. The first studies of Efik appear to have been inspired not by the search for knowledge as such but by Christian missionary interest. There was need not only to translate the Bible into the language but also for the European missionaries themselves to know the language itself for effective propagation of the Christian faith. This also seems to have been the motivation for much of the early works on other Nigerian languages. In Efik, the first such work was undertaken by the Church of Scotland missionaries in the last century. This resulted in the publication of what is perhaps the first dictionary on Efik by Hope Waddell and Edgerley in 1849. Unfortunately, it has not been possible to get access to this work. This /

This was followed by Goldie's monumental Dictionary of the Efik Language in 1862. Apart from the dictionary proper, it contains an elaborate introduction dealing with family relationship and the grammar of the language. For him, Efik grammar consists of three parts, namely orthography, etymology and syntax. Goldie is said to have published two grammars on Efik, in addition to the Dictionary. Following the dictionary publication, the Bible and other religious works were translated into Efik, using Goldie's orthography. Today, the current orthography is a revised version of Goldie's orthography. In the 1950s R.F.G. Adams published two other dictionaries, using the revised orthography.

Other published books include Ida Ward's Phonetic and Tonal Structure of Efik (1933) which Cook describes as 'the most thorough published linguistic study of Efik'; Cook's own The Pronunciation of Efik for Speakers of English, (1969); Welmers' Efik (1968). These last two are text books primarily for learners of Efik with English as a first language. Another text book A Study of Efik for Schools and Colleges has been published by O.A. Akpanyuŋ for native speakers of Efik.

In addition to the above books, there are articles. These include F.D.D. Winston's 'The "Mid" Tone in Efik' and 'Some Bantu-like Features of Efik Structure' published in African Language Studies 1960 and 1970 respectively; Udo Essien's (to appear) paper on some aspects of Efik phonology; Cook's contribution in Twelve Nigerian Languages edited by Elizabeth Dunstan; and Okon Essien's 'The Reflexive in Efik' (to appear in Journal of African Languages).

1.5 Phonology and Orthography:

A detailed description of Efik phonology will not be attempted here. However, we think that some notes on the sounds and sound patterns of Efik are necessary. Let us begin with the phonemes which are given in the following charts

Consonant Chart

	Bilabial		Labio-dental		Alveolar		Palatal		Velar		Labio-velar	
	vl	vd	vl	vd	vl	vd	vl	vd	vl	vd	vl	vd
Stops		b			t	d			k		kp	
Fricatives			f		s							
Nasals		m				n		ɲ		ŋ		
Semi-vowels								y				w

Vowel Chart

	Front	Central	Back
High	i		u
Mid	e ɛ		o ɔ
Low		a	

Consonants:

/b/ has several allophones. These are positionally determined. In final positions it occurs as an unreleased stop phonetically represen-:ted as [p⁻] , as in the following imperative verbs:

[bɔp⁻] (build) [dɛp⁻] (buy) [kpɛp⁻] (teach)

If /

If it is, however, immediately followed by a syllable juncture (-) in the middle of a word, it occurs as a released stop phonetically represented as [p⁺], as in these examples:

[ikop⁺-ke] (he hasn't heard)

ndɛp⁺-ke (I haven't bought)

Like /b/, /t/ and /k/ are unreleased in final positions. Thus phonetically we have the following:

[bɛt⁻] (wait)

[dɔk⁻] (dig)

/k/ has other allophones. If it is preceded by a high front vowel, it is phonetically [g], as in these examples:

[digi] (trample)

[idigɛ] (it is not)

[tiga] (shoot, kick)

If, however, it occurs between two mid front vowels, or two low central vowels, it is phonetically [ɣ] or [x], as in the following examples:

[fɛxɛ] (run)

[daɣa] (leave, go away)

Among literate Efiks, [g] is sometimes found in initial positions as in the loan word gari (a staple food). This is no doubt influenced by English, though gari itself is not English. The English /g/ occurs in initial positions and educated Efiks who, of course, speak English must be familiar with the sound in that position. However, among Efiks who do not speak English gari is pronounced either as kari or ŋkari. Till her death, my grandmother used to pronounce it as ŋkari.

/d/ /

/d/ has an allophone [ɾ] . It occurs between vowels in free variation with [d] , as in the following examples:

[aɾan]	[adan]	(oil)
[oɾo]	[odo]	(the/that)

where the preceding vowel is itself preceded by a stop or fricative, this vowel is entirely deleted and the word pronounced with appreciable consonant clustering, as in these examples:

Phonemic Structure	Phonetic Structure	
/tidɛ/	[tɾɛ]	(stop)
/kpidɛ/	[kpɾɛ]	(be small)
/fidɛ/	[fɾɛ]	(forget)
/sidɛ/	[sɾɛ]	(be closed)
/fadaŋ/	[fɾaŋ]	(fry)
/fɔdɔ/	[fɾɔ]	(pass)

It is worth pointing out that in Anang, the phonemic and phonetic forms of the above words are the same or at least very similar.

The nasals are homoganic with a following consonant if the consonant itself occurs at the beginning of the following syllable, thus we have the following:

[mbak⁼]	(part)
[ntan]	(sand)
[nsɛn]	(an egg)
[ndo]	(blemish)
[ŋkpɔ]	(something)

They are also syllabic, thus we have

[m-bak⁼]

[n-tan] /

[n-tan]

[n-sɛn]

[n-do]

[ŋ-kpɔ]

Cook (1969:99) says "in Efik there is only one phonemic syllabic nasal as its particular pronunciation (allophones) can be predicted from the following consonant". However, the nasals in such positions as those above are to be analysed, the syllabic property is not in doubt.

/ŋ/ has an allophone [ŋʷ] which is a labialized dorso-velar nasal. This sound occurs at the beginning of syllables, as in these examples:

[ŋʷana]	(fight)
[ŋʷɔŋ]	(drink)
[i-ŋʷaŋ]	(farm)
[u-ŋʷɔŋ]	(tobacco)

Observe that [ŋʷ] is followed by a vowel.

Semi-Vowels:

The semi-vowels /w/ and /y/ behave like consonants, as the following show:

/wak/	(tear up)
/awa/	(a green plant)
/yom/	(look for, search)
/ayaŋ/	(broom)

When they are preceded by a consonant, they sound like /u/ and /i/ respectively, as these examples show:

Phonemic /

Phonemic	Phonetic	
/udwa/	[udua]	(market)
/dwɔ/	[duɔ]	(fall)
/byom/	[biom]	(carry on the head)
/fyob/	[fiop-]	

Vowels:

Vowels in Efik vary phonetically depending on whether they occur between consonants (i.e. in closed syllables) or not. Vowels in closed syllables are shorter and more centralized than those in open syllables. Thus /i/ and /u/ are highly centralized in the following

[ɲɪ̈k-] (push or press someone to do something)

[bʉt-] (shame)

As /i/ is a front vowel, centralization involves a position further back while in the case of /u/, a back vowel, centralization involves a position further front in the mouth (cf. Cook 1969:74ff).

Syllable Structure

At the phonemic level, an Efik syllable may be structured as follows:

V	as in /u-fɔk/	(house)
CV	as in /bɔ/	(receive, take)
CVC	as in /sop/	(be lost)
C_1C_2V	as in /dya/	(eat) (where C_2 is a semi-vowel)
$C_1C_2VC_3$	as in /dwɔk/	(throw away) where again C_2 is a semi-vowel.
N	as in /n-do/	(blemish)(where nasal is syllabic).

Phonetically, C_2 may be the alveolar tap [ɾ], which is an allo-:phone of /d/, as in these examples:

[tɾɛ] (stop) [fɾɛ] (forget)

Phonemically /

Phonemically, they are in fact words of two syllables each. In Anang, as already pointed out, both the phonemic and the phonetic forms are very much the same. In other words, they are pronounced as

[ti-dɛ] [fi-dɛ]

Orthography:

The orthography is of course based on the phonology. As revised in 1929, the following are the letters of the alphabet:
a, b, d, e, f, g, h, i, k, m, n, ny, ŋ, o, ɔ, p, kp, r, s, t, u, w, y.
The orthography has no ɛ. For this reason both the singular and plural of second and third person verbs are orthographically the same in cases where phonemically the plural prefixes are /e/ and the singular ones /ɛ/. These are cases where the vowel of the root of the verb is either /i/ or /ɛ/ itself. For example in the following

mbufo	etiŋ	(your pl are saying)
mmɔ	etiŋ	(they are saying)
afo	etiŋ	(you sing are saying)
enye	etiŋ	(he/she is saying)

The prefixes are the same in all cases in the orthographic forms. Phonemically, however, the first two prefixes are /e/ while the last two are /ɛ/. There is, however, no problem where the root vowel is neither /i/ nor /ɛ/, as in these examples

Mbufo	eyom	(you pl want)	mbufo	eka	(you pl are going)
mmɔ	eyom	(they want)	mmɔ	eka	(they are going)
afo	oyom	(you sing want)	afo	aka	(you sing are going)
enye	oyom	(he/she wants)	enye	aka	(he/she is going)

Sometimes the orthographic forms are more like the phonetic forms than /

than the phonemic forms, as these examples show:

Orthographic	Phonetic	Phonemic	
tre	[tɪɛ]	/tidɛ/	(stop)
bre	[bɪɛ]	/bidɛ/	(play)
fiop	[fiop⁻]	/fyob/	(be hot)
duak	[duak⁻]	/dwak/	(plan)

All examples are quoted in the orthography.

1.6 Tones:

Efik is a tone language. Its tonal structure is described as 'terraced level' (cf. Welmers ibid:vi). According to Cook (1969b:42), "this means;

(a) whereas after a low tone, there is only the possibility of a high tone or another low tone, ...

(b) after a high tone there are three possibilities:

(i) a low tone (L)

(ii) a high tone at the same pitch level (H)

(iii) a high tone which is lower than the preceding high (i.e. downstep (D) + high)".

In this work, tones will not be marked unless they are essential to the point or argument raised (cf. 5.4.2 for example). Following largely Winston (1970:418), the tones are marked as follows:

◌́ high tone

◌̗ high tone preceded by downstep, i.e. a downstepped high

◌̀ low tone

◌̌ rising tone

◌̂ falling tone

Basically Efik has two tones, high and low. These are the most frequently occurring tones. In general a syllable may be said to have one /

one inherent tone, as shown below:

ébót (a goat) - a sequence of two high tones.

énaŋ (a cow) - a sequence of a high and a low tone.

àfó (you sing) - a sequence of two low tones.

Within a word, however, a high tone preceded by another high tone may be slightly lower in pitch than the preceding high. Such a lowered high tone may be called a 'down-stepped high' (Welmers 1968). So in addition to the above sequences there is a sequence of high and down-stepped high as in ɔ́bɔ̀ŋ (chief).

A syllable may, however, appear to have more than one tone, namely, either a combination of high and low (falling pitch) as in ìmʃ (wealth) or low and high (rising pitch) as in kǎ (go). Whether these are sequences of two tones in each case or single ones is a moot point.

1.7 The Dialect:

The dialect used here is Efik-Ibibio (cf. 1.2). Moreover, it is the Efik-Ibibio of an educated Ibibio. In such a dialect, such loans as leta (from English letter) and gari (the origin of this word is as yet unknown) are commonly used in those more or less un-Efik forms. As we have seen in the previous section, the sound /l/ does not occur in the Efik sound system and although the sound [g] does occur, it does so as an allophone of /k/. As an allophone of /k/, [g] does not occur at the beginning of a word. For the illiterate Efik therefore gari is kari, or sometimes ŋkari, and leta is deta. Educated Efiks speaking among themselves will normally use leta and gari. They would regard it as unsophisticated if any of their peers used deta and kari respectively. Interestingly, when an educated Efik talks with an uneducated /

uneducated one, he would normally use the so-called unsophisticated forms for fear that the illiterate man would not understand the so-called sophisticated forms. In general, however, although the illiterate man does not use the sophisticated form himself, he does appear to under-:stand it when used by someone else.

Another common practice by the users of this dialect is what Ansre (1971:147) calls "inserting varying 'chunks' of English into their performance of the West African language". The following are examples of such practice:

Ekeme ndiexplain ido esie psycologically : 'His behaviour can be
1 2 3 4 4 3 1
explained psychologically'
2

Bassey edi a very arrogant man : 'Bassey is a very arrogant man'.

We will avoid this practice because we wish to describe Efik in its own right.

CHAPTER TWO

THE BASE RULES

2.1 The Model:

The descriptive model used here is basically Chomsky's Aspects model of grammar (Chomsky:1965). We shall, however, make such modifications as seem necessary. The justification for our choice of this model, which has been unduly attacked by those who favour 'generative semantics', is the fact that there is virtually no description of Efik syntax from the transformational standpoint. As the best tested version of the transformational generative theory, it is probably wise, from a practical point of view, to use the standard theory for describing a language like Efik. Moreover, generative semantics seems even more powerful than the standard theory; yet one of the criticisms against transformations as formulated in Aspects is that they are so powerful that they can often be misused.

Our modification of this model will be rather eclectic, such proposals as seem helpful will be used to enhance our descriptive apparatus.

The Aspects model of grammar is a modification of Chomsky's earlier works, notably Syntactic Structures published in 1957, and based on findings, criticisms, and suggestions of works like Katz's and Postal's An Integrated Theory of Linguistic Descriptions, among others. A very good summary of the Aspects model is given by Lyons (1970:124):

> "As described in Aspects, the grammar of a language (and 'grammar' must now be taken in its widest sense) consists of three sets of rules: syntactic, semantic and phonological. The syntactic rules generate the sentences of the language, assigning to each both an underlying phrase marker (which represents the deep structure of the sentence) and a derived phrase marker (which /

(which represents the surface structure). The meaning of the sentence is derived (mainly, if not wholly) from its deep structure by means of the semantic rules of interpretation; and the phonetic realization of the sentence is derived from its surface structure by means of the phonological rules".

In the syntactic componentof this model, there are three sets of ordered rules, namely (i) base rules, (ii) lexical insertion rules, and (iii) transformational rules.

2.2 The Base Rules:

The base rules together with the lexicon, which we shall discuss later, make up what is called the base of the grammar, which is a sub-:component of the syntactic component. There are two kinds of base rules, namely Phrase Structure (PS) or branching rules and rules forming Complex Symbols (CS) on major lexical items. PS or branching rules are of the form

$$A \longrightarrow XBZ$$

where X and Z may be null. If X and Z are null, the rules are known as CF (Context Free) rules. If, however, X or Z or both are non-null, the rules are known as CS (Context Sensitive) rules. Most of our PS rules will be of the CF kind.

2.2.1 Rules Forming CS on Major Lexical Categories:

Rules forming CS on major lexical categories - N, VB and ART, though the latter is not a major lexical category as such, in our case - are not ordinary PS rules but 'transformational rules of elementary sort' or 'local transformations' (Chomsky 1965:98-99).

There /

There are two kinds of rules forming CS on major lexical categories. The first set of rules are CF rules that introduce 'inherent' features such as [+Animate], [+Count], etc. The second set of rules are CS rules. These rules are of two sorts, namely <u>strict subcategorization rules</u> and <u>selectional rules</u>. Strict subcategorization rules are of the forms

$$A \longrightarrow CS/Z\text{-}W$$

where A 'stands for any symbol ready for rewriting through strict subcategorization rules, such as N..., CS for any partial matrix in the CS of a lexical entry' (Seuren 1969:41), Z and W complex, perhaps null strings acting as a context restriction, and ZAW for some X category symbol, where furthermore X is the category symbol that appears on the left in the rule $X \longrightarrow ZAW$ that introduces A. In practical terms then, if A is a VB, then only the VP, which in this case substitutes for X, determines the strict subcategorization of A. If, however, A is an N, then the strict subcategorization of A is determined by frames dominated by the NP.

Selectional rules, which 'subcategorize a lexical category in terms of syntactic features that appear in specified positions in the sentence', are of the form

$$[+A] \longrightarrow CS/\alpha - \beta$$

where α and β are variables ranging over a set of specified features. Thus if [+A] is [+V] and α is N and β is also N, 'the rules abbreviated by the above schemata assert, simply, that each feature of the preceding and following Noun is assigned to the Verb and determines an appropriate selectional subclassification of it' (p.97).

Selectional rules have come under criticism in recent years. McCawley (1970) /

(1970), for example, claims that

(i) selectional restrictions have no independent status in linguis-:tics, whereas in Chomsky (1965) they are used as a form of constraints on deep structure, which for McCawley and other generative semanticists is not a clearly defined level as it is in Aspects;

(ii) selectional restrictions are predictable from the meaning of the lexical item in question;

(iii) many of the so-called selectional violations in fact correspond to 'possible messages' in possible worlds.

He therefore concludes that the peculiarity of sentences arising from the so-called selectional violations are in fact a consequence of extra-linguistic factors and that such 'deviant' sentences are possible in appropriate circumstances[1] (McCawley 1970:166-168).

In our grammar, syntactic features are not primarily for selection of the above kind. Rather 'the features I have chosen to regard as syntactic features ... are operated on in certain specifically grammatical processes' (Brown 1972:40). For example, after simple pronominalization, the 'residual' Number and Person features are crucial for determining the forms of the personal pronouns, <u>enye</u> and <u>mmɔ</u> (he/she, it and they), for example. Similarly, when the WH question transformation applies, the formative (in the sense of a transformationally introduced element) <u>anie</u> (who) or <u>nso</u> (what) is introduced /

---

1. For example, the following sentence is perfectly grammatical in the context of witchcraft:

Arit ɔtɔŋɔ ndita nyuŋ ɣwɔŋ idem esie : 'Arit has started to eat and drink herself'.

introduced, depending on whether the NP which dominates (see the base rules in 2.6) WH is [+Human] or [-Human], respectively.

2.2.2 The Lexicon:

The lexicon is "a set of lexical entries, each lexical entry being a pair (D,C), where D is a phonological distinctive feature matrix 'spelling' a certain lexical formative and C is a collection of speci-:fied syntactic features (a complex symbol)". (Chomsky 1965:84).
In addition to phonological and syntactic features, the lexicon will also contain the following information:

(a) features that are peculiar to the formative and which can trigger off a transformation or block it;

(b) relevant features for semantic interpretation.

In our lexicon, however, we will be primarily concerned with syntactic features, i.e. the C element in the pair (D,C) of the lexical entry.

2.2.3 The Lexical Insertion Rule:

The PS rules will generate strings consisting of grammatical formatives (e.g. Past, C, etc.) and complex symbols called preterminal strings. To derive a terminal string from a preterminal string, a lexical insertion rule of the following kind is required:

> "If Q is a complex symbol of a preterminal string and (D,C) is a lexical entry, where C is not distinct from Q, then Q can be replaced by D"(p.84)

This rule permits lexical items from the lexicon to be inserted into the preterminal string generated by the PS and subcategorization rules 'if the markers in the lexicon for that item and the markers in the Complex /

> Complex Symbol under that particular node do not conflict' (Grinder and Elgin 1973:129).

As Seuren (1969:38) says, "one notices that this lexical rule is not so much a rule as a rule schema: it is a cover formula for a large number of rules, each of which would apply to a particular complex symbol and a particular lexical item".

The formal abstract structure generated by the base rules plus lexical insertion constitutes the deep structure or deep phrase marker of a sentence which may be represented in the form of a tree diagram.

2.3 Transformational Rules:

Transformational Rules like PS rules are rewrite rules. They however differ from PS rules in a very significant way. While PS rules operate on single symbols, "without being able to take into account any other symbols from which they have been previously rewritten (their derivational history), T-rules operate on P-markers" (Seuren:1969:30) generated by the rules of the base and lexical insertion, changing these phrase markers into derived phrase markers. A surface phrase marker is generated when no more transformations need apply to a phrase marker. Stockwell et al (1968) give an interesting description of the organization of transformational rules, part of which is quoted below:

> "Transformational (T) rules change underlying P-markers into derived P-markers. That is, the rules effect restructuring of trees. Each T-rule consists of
>
> (a) a structure index (SI), (b) a structure change (SC), and sometimes, (c) a set of conditions.
>
> (a) The SI indicates the set of P-markers to which the T can apply /

apply and hence is stated in terms of PS symbols (e.g. # , NP, ART, etc.), syntactic features (e.g. [+Def], [+AND], etc.), morphemes, and a variable X, which stands for an arbitrary string of symbols...

(b) The SC indicates the restructuring which the T effects" (Stockwell et al 1968:15).

Transformational operations include among other operations such elementary operations as deletion, substitution, adjunction and permutation. A permutation transformation, for example, may be formulated thus:

SI X A B C Y

1 2 3 4 5

Condition : (specified)

SC : Permute 2 with 4

where X and Y are variables, possibly null, XABCY an underlying phrase marker, and the condition, if any, for the application of the rule specified. The 'out put' or derived phrase marker will then be XCBAY. Thus a transformation defines a relation between a pair of successive phrase markers by altering the underlying phrase marker in one way or another.

Transformations may be obligatory or optional. Optional transformations may or may not apply but an obligatory transformation must apply once there is a proper analysis and the relevant condition or conditions are met. An obligatory transformation may, however, be blocked where the deep structure is ill-formed or underlies no sentence of the language under description. In this way, transformations may act as a 'filter' to ensure well-formedness (Chomsky 1965:139).

2.4 /

2.4 Deep and Surface Structure Constraints:

It is pertinent at this juncture to add that it has been shown by Perlmutter (1971) that in addition to transformations, other devices can be made to perform the filtering function. He calls them deep structure constraints and surface structure constraints. Deep structure constraints are defined as "well-formedness conditions on generalized phrase markers that apply prior to the application of transformations and 'filter out' certain generalized phrase markers generated by the base as ill-formed" (Perlmutter 1971:xi). The need for such constraints according to Perlmutter is to be able to handle certain cases of ill-:formed phrase markers generated by the base component, where such ill-formed phrase markers cannot be so characterised by the blocking of obligatory transformations.

We shall need constraints of the above kind in our grammar. For example, the fact that YN and WH questions do not co-occur (cf 2.7.1) can best be accounted for, in our view, by a deep structure constraint, since YN and WH are both deep structure categories in our grammar.

Surface structure constraints are also well-formedness conditions but this time on the out put of the transformational sub-component, which together with the base constitute the syntactic component of the grammar as a whole. These constraints act as a filter, like the deep structure constraints, and reject as ungrammatical any string which has a well-:formed deep structure but whose deep structure there is no way of 'actualising' as a grammatical sentence. In other words, where there are well-formed deep structures and where all the relevant transformations have applied and yet no grammatical surface sentence results, surface structure constraints are required to reject that sentence as ungrammatical. /

ungrammatical.

We shall rarely require surface structure constraints in our grammar.

2.5 Phonological and Semantic Components:

As both the phonological and semantic components of the grammar concern us very little, we do not wish to go beyond the remarks that have been made in the introduction and other sections of this work. Before we turn to the next section, it is, however, worth pointing out that in Aspects, it is the deep structure which wholly determines the semantic interpretation. However, Chomsky (1972) has modified this position and proposed that semantic interpretation be determined by the pair deep structure and surface structure, rather than by the deep structure alone.

2.6 Actual Rules:

1 S → (Q) NP VP (ADJT)

2 VP → AUX { (VB (NP)) (NP) ({ COMP-PHRASE / S }) / PRED }

3 AUX → C TENSE/ASPECT (NEG) (EMPH)

Rules (4)-(6), which would expand the TENSE/ASPECT element and introduce certain modal distinctions, are not given here, since the details in this area of the grammar have not been worked out satisfactorily (cf. p. 52).

7 PRED -> (NP)(COMP-PHRASE)

8 COMP-PHRASE -> COMP { NP / S }

9 COMP -> { Prep / QVB }

10 NP -> { { Quant / Q / Num } (PART) N DET { S / EMPH } / S / ye NP NP* }

11 Q -> { YN/# - / WH/ - N }

12 PART -> NP PT

13 DET -> (NUM) (NOM) ART

14 NOM -> NP

15 EMPH -> { REDUPL / INT }

16 ADJT -> { COMP-PHRASE / PRE-S S / MAN / DEG }

17 N -> CS

18 VB -> CS

19 ART -> CS

20 [+N] -> [±Common], [±Animate], [±Count], [±Pro]

21 [+Animate] -> [±Human]

22 /

22 [-Animate] → [±Loc]

23 [+Loc] → [±Place]

24 [+Count] → [±Sing(ular)]

25 [+Pro] → [±I]

26 [-I] → [±II]

27 [-Pro] → [-II]

28 [+ART] → [±Def]

29 [+Def] → [±Dem]

30 [+Dem] → [±Prox]

31 [-Prox] → [±There]

32 [-Def] → [±Spec(ific)]

33 [+VB] → [±V], [±Adj]

34 [+VB] → CS/ [+N] ... - (... [+N])

Lexicon (Sample)

35a ebot (goat) : [+N], [+Common], [+Animate], [-Human], [+Count], [±Sing], [-Pro], [-II]

35b Bassey : [+N], [-Common], [+Animate], [+Human], [+Count], [+Sing], [-Pro], [-II]

35c udua (market) : [+N], [+Common], [-Animate], [+Loc], [+Place], [+Count], [±Sing], [-Pro], [-II]

35d mbubreyo (evening) : [+N], [+Common], [-Animate], [+Loc], [-Place], [±Sing], [-Pro], [-II]

35e nnyin (we) ; [+N], [+Common], [+Animate], [+Human], [+Count], [-Sing], [+Pro], [+I]

35f dep (buy) : [+VB], [+V], [-Adj], [+ - NP], [+ [±Human] DET AUX - [-Human] DET]

35g /

35g kpon (be big): +V
-kamba (big) : -V +Adj , + - ... , + +CS DET AUX - ...

2.7.0 Explanations - Introduction:

In the following sections, we will attempt to give some explanations for the base rules in 2.6 above as they apply to categories other than the NP, whose analysis will be considered in the next chapter. The abbreviations and the use of the interlocking brackets ⟅ ⟆ are explained in Footnote 2 below.

2.7.1 /

2(a) Abbreviations:

ADJT	=	Adjunct	Man	=	Manner
C	=	Concord	Mod	=	Modality
Cmp	=	Compulsion	Nom	=	Nominal
Comp-Phrase	=	Complement Phrase	Num	=	Numeral
DEG	=	Degree	Opt	=	Optional
EMPH	=	Emphasis	PART	=	Partitive
Fut	=	Future	Pres	=	Present
Hab	=	Habitual	PT	=	Particle
Imp	=	Imperative	Prep	=	Preposition
Int	=	Intensification	Quant	=	Quantifier
Loc	=	Locative	REDUPL	=	Reduplication

2(b) The interlocking brackets ⟅ ⟆ indicate that at least one category must be chosen. Thus Rule 7 means that NP and Comp-Phrase may be chosen together to generate the string NP Comp-Phrase. If, however, they are not chosen together, then one of them must be chosen.

2.7.1 Questions:

We begin with questions, grammaticalised as Q. As in many languages, there are two kinds of questions, the Yes/No question (i.e. one which requires the answer yes or no; and the non-Yes/No question. The former has been grammaticalised as YN and the latter as WH. It is our thesis that within our system of grammar, YN is a constituent or modifier of the S while WH is that of the NP. Our analysis thus squares with both syntactic and semantic observations which we will present presently. For the moment, however, let us see the form the questions take.

(1)a. (Nte) ŋwed ke oyom? : 'Is it a book that you are looking for?'
(1) (2) (3) (4) (1) (3) (4)

(1)b. (Nte) Ata edi mi? : 'Has Ata come here?'
(1) (2) (3) (2) (3)

(2)a. Nso ŋwed ikpon ntre? : 'What book is as big as that?'
(1) (2) (3) (4) (1) (2) (3) (4)

(2)b. Ete ekedep ewe[3] eduat? : 'Which sword did father buy?'
(1) (2) (3) (4) (3) (4) (1)

(2)c. Ata akasaŋa ye anie owo? : 'Ata went with which person (or whom)?'
(1) (2) (3) (4) (1) (2) (3) (4)

(2)d. Bassey eye didie? : 'How handsome is Bassey?'
(1) (2) (1) (2)

(2)e. Iban oro eka mmoŋ? : 'Where have the women gone?'
(1) (2) (3) (4) (4) (2) (1) (3)

Nte, which is used optionally, is the YN question morpheme whereas nso, ewe, anie, didie and mmoŋ are various forms of the WH question morpheme.

Let us now consider the differences between the two kinds of questions. First, if nte occurs in a sentence, it occurs invariably at the beginning of the sentence and does not appear to show any form of relationship with any constituent of the S. Consider the following examples /

---

3. Efe and eke can also be found in some dialects instead of ewe or in free variation with it.

examples:

(3)a. Nte ami ke oyom? : 'Are you looking for me?'

(3)b. Nte ini oro ke enye edika? : 'Is it at that time that he will go?'

(3)c. Nte imekpere itie oro? : 'Have we approached the place?'

(3)d. Nte ke Uyo ke Ime okokut fi? : 'Was it at Uyo that Ime saw you?'

(3)e. Nte ediwak owo esobo ete? : 'Have many people met father?'

where nte shows no form of relationship with any other element in the sentence. By contrast, consider the following examples with WH words:

(4)a. Nso moto ke enye awat? : 'What car does he drive?'

(4)b. Anie akparawa ekesin ntime? : 'Which youth gave trouble?'

(4)c. Mme anie ŋkaiferi enek unek? : 'Which girls are dancing?'

where nso agrees with inanimate nouns, anie with human but singular nouns, and mme anie with plural human nouns. Thus (5), where this kind of con-:cord is violated, are ungrammatical:

(5)a. *Anie moto ke enye awat? : 'Which car does he drive?'

(5)b. *Nso akparawa ekesin ntime? : 'Which youth gave trouble?'

(5)c. *Anie mbɔŋ eyom mi? : 'Which chiefs want me?'

In (5)a, anie, which requires a human noun, is given an inanimate one instead, hence the ungrammaticality. In (5)b, nso is given a human noun and yet it requires an inanimate noun, hence the ungrammaticality. The ungrammaticality of (5)c arises from the use of anie instead of mme anie. Thus while nte shows no relationship at all with any constituent of the S, nso and anie clearly show that they are related to the NP.

In addition to the above relation between the WH question morpheme and the nominal head, there is also a co-occurrence restriction between this category /

category and ART, which is also a constituent of the NP. Consider (6):

(6)a. *Ata ayam nso ŋwed oro? : 'Ata sells which that book?'
1 2 3 4 1 2 4 3

(6)b. *Anie ete emi akawat moto? : 'Which this man drove a car?'
1 2 3 4 5 1 3 2 4 5

where nso and anie, which are WH realizations, do not co-occur with oro and emi, which are ART realizations.

Observe that WH question, as an NP constituent, can be attached to an NP not necessarily first in the sentence, subject of course to the above restrictions. Thus we have (7)a:

(7)a. Bassey oyom anie owo? : 'Which person (who) is Bassey looking for?'

It is even possible to have two occurrences of it in the same sentence, as in (7)b:

(7)b. Anie owo oyom nso ŋkpɔ? : 'Which person (who) is looking for what thing (what)?'

However, although (2)d and (2)e are regarded as WH question sentences, there appears to be no NP as such to which the question elements didie (how, in what way?) and mmɔŋ (where, at which place?) respectively are adjoined in these examples. Of course (2)d and (2)e are surface sentences and must have undergone some transformations. We claim that these sen-:tences are in fact derived from (8)a and (8)b respectively, since the latter and the former are paraphrases of each other

(8)a. Bassey eye ke nso usuŋ? : 'Bassey is handsome in what way?'

(8)b. Iban oro eka ebiet ewe?[4] : 'What place (where) have the women gone?'

If so, there is an optional transformation that can replace ke nso usuŋ and ebiet ewe with didie and mmɔŋ in order to derive (2)d and (2)e from (8)a and (8)b respectively.

Further /

4. Ewe occurs with both human and non-human nominals though more frequently with the latter.

Further syntactic evidence for deriving (2)d and (2)e from (8)a and (8)b comes from the fact that just as didie and mmɔŋ can be fronted, so can ke nso usuŋ and ebiet ewe. Thus we have (9)a and (9)b and (10)a and (10)b, which are paraphrases of each other, respectively:

(9)a. Didie ke Bassey eye? : 'How handsome is Bassey?'

(9)b. Mmɔŋ ke iban oro eka? : 'Where have the women gone?'

(10)a. Nso usuŋ ke Bassey eye? : 'In what way is Bassey handsome?'

(10)b. Ebiet ewe ke iban oro eka? : 'Which place have the women gone?'

Finally, as an NP modifier, the WH morpheme is distributionally equivalent to other NP modifiers like the determiner, adjective, quantifier, etc., as the following examples show:

(11)a. Effiong oyom nso ŋkpɔ? :'Effiong wants what thing (what)?'

(11)b. Effiong oyom nso? : 'Effiong wants what?'

(12)a. Enye oyom ŋkpɔ oro : 'He wants that thing (that)'

(12)b. Enye oyom oro : 'He wants that'

(13)a. Bassey oyom akamba ŋkpɔ : 'Bassey wants a big thing'
1 2 3 1 2 3

(13)b. Bassey oyom akamba : 'Bassey wants a big one'

(14)a. Ata oyom ediwak ŋkpɔ : 'Ata wants many things'
1 1

(14)b. Ata oyom ediwak : 'Ata wants many'

where the Ns are deletable in the context of N + Modifier or Modifier + N. So far we have shown that the main difference between YN and WH is that while the latter is clearly a constituent of the NP, there is no S con-:stituent to which YN shows any form of relationship. It has also been shown that while YN occurs at the beginning of the sentence, the position of WH depends on the NP of which it is a constituent. There is also another difference between YN and WH, as the following surface sentences show: /

show:

(15)a. Nte mbufo emekot ŋkparawa? : 'Have you invited youths?'
1 2 3 1 2 3

(15)b. *Mme anie ŋkparawa ke mbufo emekot?:'Which youths have you invited?'

(15)a, which is a YN question sentence, allows the ~~perfective aspect~~ marker -me- (cf.2.8.3). However, (15)b, which is a WH question sentence does not allow this marker. Thus if the ~~perfective~~ marker -me- is removed from the verb emekot in (15)b, (15)c, which is grammatical, results:

(15)c. Mme anie ŋkparawa ke mbufo ekot? :'Which youths have you invited?'

So far, what appears clear is that WH is a constituent of the NP and that YN and WH must differ in their derivations. However, there is nothing so far to suggest strongly that YN be derived as a constituent of S. We think, however, that there are some pieces of evidence that strongly suggest that it should be.

First, as has been pointed out above, the YN question morpheme nte occurs optionally, thus (16) are paraphrases of (1):

(16)a. ŋwed ke oyom?: 'Is it a book that you are looking for?'

(16)b. Ata edi mi? : 'Has Ata come here?'

Note that (16) are ambiguous as between statement and question but (1) with the morpheme nte are not. If, however, there is a rising intonation at the end of the sentence in (16), then these sentences will be unambiguously questions as (1). If intonation is a property of the sen-:tence rather than of the individual words, then this provides a very strong support for our derivation of YN as a constituent of S.

Second, observe that nte can only appear at the beginning of the sentence, as has already been pointed out. Thus the following are ungrammatical:

(17)a. *Mmɔ nte edia udia? : 'Have they eaten?'

(17)b. *Ata anam nte utom? : 'Has Ata worked?'

(17)c. /

(17)c. *Mbufo ema ekut mi nte? : 'Did you see me?'

Finally, the two questions of course differ semantically, for in the YN question, the hearer is being requested to affirm or deny a proposition that can be extracted from the question. There is an element of doubt or uncertainty in the mind of the speaker, hence the question for confirmation and denial. In the case of WH question, however, the speaker has a certain presupposition. For example in (11)a, the speaker presupposes that Effiong wants something. What the speaker therefore wants is a defini-:tization of the thing wanted. It is no wonder then that most of the NPs that are given as answers to WH questions are definite, or otherwise restricted.

In some way, our analysis looks like Katz and Postal's (1964) analysis. For example, we have derived WH questions from NPs just as in Katz and Postal (p.103). However, we do not think that as far as Efik is concerned, there is any basis for deriving YN question as a constituent of what they call Adverb Sentence. On the contrary, as we have shown above, there are very sound reasons for deriving YN as a constituent of S with an inter-:vening Q whose function is to signal question. In the same way, Q signals question in the case of WH. One of the advantages our analysis has is that as Q immediately dominates both YN and WH, we do not need to delete Q at all, unlike in the Katz and Postal analysis.

2.8 The VP:

The VP is probably the most complex of all the major categories in Efik. Not only is there a complicated tense/aspect system accounted for here as expansion of the category of AUX, but also what looks like a VP within a VP, accounted for here under the expansion of the category QVB ('Quasi Verbal'). Consequently, we have not attempted to produce rules that will generate 'all /

'all and only Efik VPs but have limited ourselves to the more modest task of attempting to account for some of what we consider to be the important features of this category.

2.8.1 Concord:

First the verb agrees[5] in number and person with the subject nominal, as shown below in (18):

(18)a. Ami ŋwet leta : 'I'm writing a letter'

(18)b. Afo ewet leta : 'You (sing) are writing a letter'

(18)c. Enye ewet leta : 'He/she is writing a letter'

(18)d. Nnyin iwet leta : 'We are writing a letter'

(18)e. Mbufo ewet leta : 'You (pl) are writing a letter'

(18)f. Mmɔ ewet leta : 'They are writing a letter'.

where /

---

5. Some of the auxiliary elements also show this kind of agreement. The past tense morpheme -ma-, which does not get attached to the main verb, is one such element. (cf.2.8.2)

where ŋ, è, é, i, è, é,[6] which are prefixes, indicate the number and person /

---

6. We are not concerned with phonological and tonal details. However, here are some notes:

(i) 1st Person Sing prefix is always a nasal, which is homoganic with a following consonant. Thus we have

Orthographic	Phonetic
ŋka	ŋka (I'm going)
nde	nde (I'm sleeping)
mbet	mb t (I'm waiting)

This nasal is syllabic and always bears a high tone.

(ii) The first person plural is always i and the tone on it always low.

(iii) The second and third persons singular vowel prefixes vary according to the first vowel of the root or stem of the verb. In other words, there is harmony between the vowels of the root or stem of the verb and these vowel prefixes. Thus we have

2nd Person Singular	3rd Person Singular
anam utom (you are working)	ánam utom (he/she is working)
òyom (you are looking for)	óyòm (he/she is looking for)
èwet (you are writing)	éwèt (he/she is writing)

Although in the orthography both the second and third persons singu-:lar and plural sometimes have a common e vowel, phonemically the e is actually /ɛ/ for the singular of these persons, if the root vowel is /ɛ/ or /i/ (Cook 1969:84). The tone on the second person singular prefix is always low while that on third person singular may be high or falling depending on the aspect (cf.2.8.3).

(iv) The second person plural prefix is e (orthographically and phonemically) and has a low tone.

(v) The third person plural prefix is e (orthographically and phonemically) and the tone may be high or falling (as in the case of the singular) depending on the aspect.

(vi) Where the 'neutral' past marker (cf.2.8.2) -ma is used, the Person and Number prefixes are attached to this marker as well as the root verb itself. Thus we have

Nnyin íma íyom enye : 'We looked for him'

The Number and Person prefixes on -ma bear normal tones as described above but the prefixes on the root verb are high irres-:pective of person. But the tone on the root verb is unaffected except that in monosyllabic roots, a high tone becomes a downstep high.

person features of the subject.

This is why the pronoun is deletable in such sentences as (18). Such a deletion, however, will not take place until the transformation that copies the salient syntactic features of the subject onto the VP has applied. It can then be claimed that the subject was deleted by identity with these features. In this case all nouns are necessarily third person and although the same concord rule that copies the person and number features of the subject onto the VP applies, we will have to limit allowable deletions to the subjects that are personal pronouns, since these but not noun NPs can be uniquely recovered. In order that the agreement (or concord) rule may apply copying the features of number and person of the subject onto the VP, we have allowed the category C (Concord) in the base so that the concord transformation could apply at the appropriate time.

I would like to mention in passing that in every day speech, however, all subjects, whether they be personal pronoun or noun, are deletable once they have been first mentioned and the participants in the discourse know what the subject of the discourse is. Such deletions are easily recoverable in context. However, since our grammar cannot handle contextual matters of this kind, we have limited our deletions to just those that can be recovered from the grammar itself (cf. Chomsky 1965: 144).

(Note page 52 follows directly as from page 44.)

2.8.2 Tense/Aspect:

No attempt is made to discuss the expansion of this node, since it does not affect the discussion on pronominalization. The general area that would need to be covered is that discussed in Ward (1933) pages 61-93.

2.8.3 Emphasis:

Emphasis on the VP is achieved by some reduplication, as in (43):

(43)a. Enye esidede kpukpru usen-ubɔk: 'He sleeps (rather than do anything else) every morning'

(43)b. Nnyom ndikpekpe fi: 'I want to pay you (for it), not ex gratis'

Note that de (sleep) and kpe (pay) are the root forms of esidede and ndikpekpe, respectively. Thus -de- and -kpe- are reduplicated segments of the roots de and kpe, respectively. Note that (44) below are the unemphatic counterparts of (43):

(44)a. Enye eside kpukpru usen-ubɔk: 'He sleeps every morning'

(44)b. Nnyom ndikpe fi: 'I want to pay you'

We wish to point out that our derivation of emphasis in general as a category in the base arises from the fact that the unemphatic and the emphatic parallels are semantically different. There are certain implications which are obvious to the native speaker, when there is emphasis, and which are absent in the unemphatic cases. We think that these implications can be captured or accounted for by the kind of analysis we have made.

2.8.4 /

2.8.4 Negation:

Negation is indicated on the VP by the use of affix. Consider the following examples:

(45)a. Ami mmaha enye : 'I don't like him'
1

(45)b. Arit idikaha do mfin : 'Arit will not go there today'
1 2 3

(45)c. Afo ukotke mmɔ : 'You have not invited them'
1

where the affix -ha/-ke indicates negation, except in the imperative cases where ku is used, as in (46):

(46)a. Kuka : 'Don't go'

(46)b. Ekuka (pl) : 'Don't go'

Observe that the number and person (concord) prefixes often undergo some phonological changes when there is negation. Consider, for example, the positive counterpart of (45)c in (47):

(47) Afo okot mmɔ : 'You invite them'

where the prefix o- in (47) changes phonologically to u- in (45)c. There are other complications and constructions involving negation that are beyond the scope of this work to go into.

2.9 Adjectives:

What has been said so far about the VP is accounted for by the expansion of the AUX. There is, however, another important part of the VP in our rules, namely the constituent VB (Verbal). In our grammar, the root forms of verbs (cf.2.8.4) are analysed as VB. In this analysis, too, what is traditionally known as adjectives are treated not as segments but /

but as syntactic features of the VB[9]. We shall come back to these features later.

It is largely agreed by linguists working within the generative trans-:formational theory that verbs and adjectives share many common properties. For example, in English (cf.Lyons 1968:323-325) there are both stative verbs and adjectives as well as both non-stative verbs and adjectives. Consequently, they are assumed to belong to a common class or category which some call Verbal and which we have employed in our analysis. Some linguists like Bach, McCawley, Langendoen, etc., go even further to claim that adjectives, nouns and verbs are indistinguishable in the deep structure. The position taken here is the former, namely that verbs and adjectives belong to a common category. To begin with, most adjectives in Efik have two forms : one which could be described as adjective proper and the other verb. The forms, of course, do not affect the lexical meaning of the item. Consider the following examples:

(48)a. Okon edi anyan owo : 'Okon is a tall man'
1 2 3 1 2 3

(48)b. Okon ɔnɪɔŋ (owo) : 'Okon is a tall man'
1 1

(49)a. Unen emi edi akamba unen : 'This hen is a big hen'
1 2 3 4 2 1 3 4

(49)b. Unen emi okpon (unen) : 'This hen is a big hen'
1 1

(50)a. /

---

9. Winston (1970) treats adjectives as nouns. Although adjectives show 'a singular-plural alternation' (cf.3.1) like some nouns (e.g. just as we have edidem/ndidem: king/kings, we also have eti/nti : good (sing)/good(pl), the 'verbal' (in the sense of 'behaving like a verb) character should not be overlooked. In our view this phenomenon should be regarded as evidence of the concord between adjectives and nouns. But it has been shown (cf.2.8.1) that subjects and verbs agree in number and person. What appears to be the case with Verbals which are [+Adj] is that where they are used attribu-:tively (after a series of transformations) they bear only the number marker. With the verbal adjectives, however, the 'verbal' character of adjectives is not in doubt: they agree with the subject in number and person, as ɔnɪɔŋ (tall), okpon (big) and eye (pretty) in (48)b, (49)b and (50)b respectively show.

(50)a. ŋwan oro edi ediye owo : 'The woman is a pretty woman'
1 2 3 4 5 2 1 3 4 5

(50)b. ŋwan oro eye (owo) : 'The woman is a pretty woman'
1 1

The verbals in the (a) examples - anyan, akamba, ediye - have adjective proper forms while those in (b) - ɔnicɔŋ, okpon, eye - have verb forms. We shall call the latter 'verbal' adjectives to distinguish them from the so-called adjectives proper.

Like most verbs, verbal adjectives may be used in the imperative mood, as in the following examples:

(51)a. Kunicɔŋ aba : 'Don't be tall any more (i.e. stop growing)'

(51)b. Kpon usɔp usɔp : 'Grow or be big quickly'

(51)c. Ye ndien : 'Be pretty/handsome now'

Perhaps we should mention that the contexts in which such imperatives occur are rather restricted, unlike those of the ordinary verbs. Such imperatives nearly always require some kind of adverbial.

Furthermore, some verbs in Efik are translated as adjectives in English. Consider the following examples with verbs like yama (be bright) and kim (be dark):

(52)a. Ukwak oro ayama eti eti : 'That metal is very bright'
1 2 3 ---4--- 2 1 4

(52)b. Anwa okim eti eti : 'The outside is very dark'
1 2 1 2

This appears to suggest that some [+Adj] Verbals have only the 'verb' forms. Observe that like the imperatives of ɔnicɔŋ, okpon and eye above, the imperatives of ayama and okim require some kind of adverbials, as the following examples show:

(53)a. Yama ndien : 'Be bright now'

(53)b. Kim usɔp usɔp : 'Get dark quickly'

But

(54)a. /

(54)a. ?Yama : 'Be bright'

(54)b. ??Kim : 'Be dark'

The above characteristics of adjectives strongly suggest that they be analysed as VB, as we have done. To distinguish 'verbal' adjectives from adjectives proper, we have introduced the feature [+V]. All verbals are of course [+VB]. So ordinary verbs like fehe (run), dia (eat), top (throw), etc. are [+VB, +V, -Adj]. 'Verbal' adjectives like kpon (be big), fɔn (be good), bre (be black), etc. are [+VB, +V, +Adj]. And adjectives proper like akamba (big), eti (good), obubit (black), etc. are [+VB, -V, +Adj]. These features have some syntactic correlates. [+V] verbals allow imperatives, though in varying degrees, thus we have the following:

(55)a. Fehe : 'Run'

(55)b. Diɔŋɔ idem : 'Know yourself'

(55)c. Kukpri ntre : 'Don't be as small as that'

(55)d. Niɔŋ suŋ suŋ : 'Be tall slowly'

[-V] verbals allow no imperative at all, thus the following are impossible:

(56)a. *Kamba : 'Be big'

(56)b. *Ti : 'Be good'

(56)c. *Bubit : 'Be black'

What can be said about [+Adj] verbals in general is that unlike [-Adj] verbals, they do not characteristically allow the imperative. Even the verbal adjectives which do allow, do so in a rather restricted way, as has been shown above.

We have allowed the two forms of adjectives in the base because it would be difficult to derive one from the other transformationally. For one thing /

thing, not all adjectives have the verb forms. For example, although obukpo (useless) exists, there is no *bukpo (be useless). For this reason, the attempt to derive the adjective forms from the verb forms is bound to run into difficulties. Deriving obukpo from a starred and non-existing form like *bukpo appears unattractive to me. If, however, one wishes to derive the verb forms from the adjective forms, one is confronted with the same problem, since, as we have shown above, some adjectives appear to have no adjective proper forms. Besides, some constructions obligatorily require the verb forms of adjectives, even if both forms exist. Consider the following, for example:

(57)a. Bassey okpon onyuŋ ɔniɔŋ : 'Bassey is big and tall'
1 2 3 --1--- 2 3

(57)b. Bassey okpon akan Ata : 'Bassey is bigger than Ata'
1 2 --1------ 2

If the adjective forms akamba and anyan are used in place of the verb forms, (58), which are ungrammatical, would be generated:

(58)a. *Bassey edi akamba owo onyuŋ edi anyan owo:'Bassey is a big and tall man'

(58)b. *Bassey edi akamba owo akan Ata : 'Bassey is a bigger man than Ata'

The ungrammaticality of (58) can be handled by a deep structure con-:straint. Such a constraint would characterise as ungrammatical any co-ordinate structures involving the co-ordinate conjoining element nyuŋ in which two or more [-V, +Adj] verbals are conjoined, or any phrase markers in which these sorts of verbals are followed by a QVB (cf.2.10 below). The transformational derivation of attributive adjectives will be considered in 3.6.

2.10 Quasi-Verbals:

The expansion of the VP also includes a rather curious category called QVB /

QVB (Quasi-Verbal). This is designed to account for certain verb-like elements in the language. There are a class of elements in Efik which behave syntactically like verbs but functionally like prepositions, conjunctions or adverbs of degree. Consider the following examples:

(59)a. Arit ekpri akaha : 'Arit is too small'
1 2 2 1

(59)b. Ami mmekpon ŋkan Ata : 'I am bigger than Ata'
1 2 3 1 --2------ 3

(59)c. Effiong ekere ete Bassey edi eti owo : 'Effiong thinks that Bassey is a good man'
1 2 3 4 5 1 2 3 4 5

(59)d. Mmɔ ewet ŋwed ebaŋa enye : 'They have written a book about him/her'
1 2 3 4 5 1 ----2------- 3 4 5

(59)e. Ima ama aka onyuŋ okokut ebe esie : 'Ima went and saw her husband'
---1--- 2 3 4 5 1 2 3 5 4

The elements in question are akaha, ŋkan, ete, ebaŋa and onyuŋ. They are like verbs in that they have to agree with the subject of the sen-:tence in number and person. However, unlike verbs they are not inflected for aspect, mood and tense (though onyuŋ is occasionally for tense and mood). In addition, unlike most ordinary verbs, they may not be used in the imperative alone, thus (60) are impossible:

(60)a. *Kaha : 'Be too'

(60)b. *Kan : 'Be than'

(60)c. *Te : 'Be that'

(60)d. *Baŋa : 'Be about'

(60)e. *Nyuŋ : 'Be and'

On the other hand, it is possible to have the imperative with these elements in conjunction with ordinary verbals, as in these examples:

(61)a. Kpri kaha : 'Be too small'

(61)b. Kpon kan : 'Be bigger than'

(61)c. Dɔhɔ ete : 'Say that'

(61)d. Wet baŋa : 'Write about'

(61)e. /

(61)e. Nyuŋ kut enye : 'See him too'

Although these elements have a lot of syntactic similarities, they also have differences. For example, akaha must not be followed by an NP, as (62)a, for example, shows:

(62)a. *Ata ekpri akaha owo : 'Ata is too small man'
1 2 3 2 1 3

Secondly, nyuŋ, apart from being inflected for tense and mood, precedes the main verb, unlike the rest. In addition, nyuŋ appears to occur only in what is traditionally called 'compound sentences', unlike akaha, ŋkan and ebaŋa, which appear to be confined to the simplex. Like nyuŋ, ete does not occur in a simplex. But unlike nyuŋ, it occurs in complex structures, particularly of that-S kind. Sometimes the main verb preceding ete may be deleted, if dɔhɔ (say) is the verb, thus (62)b is synonymous with (62)c:

(62)b. Bassey ɔdɔhɔ ete imɔ iyeka : 'Bassey says he will go'
1 2 3 4 1 3 ----4--

(62)c. Bassey ete imɔ iyeka : 'Bassey says he will go'

Both nyuŋ and ete[10] are sometimes deleted, as the following examples show:

(63)a. Bassey ɔkɔdɔhɔ ete imɔ ima ika : 'Bassey said that he went'

(63)b. Bassey ɔkɔhɔ imɔ ima ika : 'Bassey said that he went'

(64)a. Mmɔ ema etem udia enyuŋ edia : 'They cooked and ate'
1 ---2---- 3 4 5 1 -2,3-- 4 5

(64)b. Mmɔ ema etem udia edia : 'They cooked food and ate'

Unlike nyuŋ and ete, ŋkan and ebaŋa cannot be deleted, nor can the main verbs with which they occur. Thus (65) and (66), where these sorts of deletions have occurred, are ungrammatical:

(65)a. *Ami mmekpon Ata : 'I am bigger Ata'

(65)b. *Ami ŋkan Ata : 'I'm bigger than Ata'

(66)a. /

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10. Only dɔhɔ (say) appears to allow the deletion of ete.

(66)a. *Mmɔ ewet ŋwed enye : 'They have written a book about him'

(66)b. *Mmɔ ŋwed ebaŋa enye : 'They have written a book about him'

Ignoring akaha, which is hardly relevant to pronominalization anyway, it appears that elements like ŋkan and ebaŋa must be part of the VP. In particular, they are limited to the simplex. On the other hand, ete and nyuŋ are clearly sentence connectives, the former occurring in com-:plex sentences as a complementizer, and the latter in compound sentences as a co-ordinating conjunction. We call those elements like ŋkan and ebaŋa QVB (Quasi-Verbal) and derive them as part of the expansion of the VP. Ete and nyuŋ will be treated as sentence connectives, the former as a complementizer and the latter as co-ordinating conjoining element.

But if nyuŋ and ete are sentence connectives and ŋkan and ebaŋa QVBs, what about elements like nnɔ and aka in the following sentences?

(67)a. Mma ndep ŋwed nnɔ eyen mmi : 'I bought a book and gave for my son'
(67)b. Enye efehe aka ufɔk ŋwed : 'He has run to school'

We claim that although nnɔ and aka may be translated as prepositions in English, they are verbs proper, and that (67) themselves are in fact compound sentences with a deleted nyuŋ. The main reason for our claim is that (67) can be paraphrased as (68):

(68)a. Mma ndep ŋwed nnyuŋ nnɔ eyen mi: 'I bought a book and gave my son'
(68)b. Enye efehe onyuŋ aka ufɔk ŋwed : 'He has run and gone to school'

In view of nyuŋ as a sentence connective, we will use it as a test for compound sentences in cases where this is not obvious, as in (67). So a verb-like element in a sentence will be considered as a QVB if it does not permit nyuŋ, as nyuŋ is supposed to precede a true verb when it co-ordinates sentences. It follows from this that a sentence whose paraphrase /

paraphrase includes nyuŋ is a compound sentence. By this criterion, then, ŋkan and ebaŋa, as already shown above, are QVBs and examples such as (59)b and (59)d simplex sentences, as they cannot be paraphrased as (69) below:

(69)a. *Ami mmekpon nnyuŋ ŋkan Ata : 'I am bigger and than Ata'

(69)b. *Mmɔ ewet ŋwed enyuŋ ebaŋa enye:'They have written a book and about him'

By the same criterion ito in (70)a is a QVB and (70)a itself a simplex but ekpɔŋ a full verb and (70)b a compound sentence, as (71) show:

(70)a. Ata ibɔhɔ leta ito enye : 'Ata has not got a letter from her'
1 2 3 4 1 2 3 4

(70)b. Iban oro ema efehe ekpɔŋ nnyin : 'The women ran away and left us'
1 2 3 4 5 2 1 3 4 5

(71)a. *Ata ibɔhɔ leta inyuŋ ito enye : 'Ata has not received a letter and not from her'

(71)b. Iban oro ema efehe enyuŋ ekpɔŋ nnyin:'The women ran away and left us'

Observe that QVBs function like prepositions. Consider the following examples:

(72)a. Effiong anam utom ye Okon : 'Effiong is working with Okon'
1 2 3 1,2 3

(72)b. Effiong ɔbɔ leta ato Okon : 'Effiong has received a letter from Okon'
1 2

(73)a. Bre mbre ke ufɔk : 'Play at home'
1 2 3 4 1,2 3 4

(73)b. Tiŋ mbuk baŋa ufɔk : 'Tell a story about home'
1 2 3 1 2 3

(73)c. Dia udia ye ikpaŋ : 'Eat food with a spoon'
1 2 3 4 1 2 3 4

As (72) and (73) show, prepositions (ye and ke) are not inflected, unlike QVBs. Perhaps one might ask, from the point of view of a case grammar, whether there are any particular functions which require a QVB rather than a preposition. It is unclear to me at the moment whether there are any such functions. What is, however, clear are the ones that do not /

not require a QVB. As (72)a, (73)a and (73)c show, the comitative, locative and instrumental cases require prepositions.

It should be obvious from our analysis of sentences like (59)b as simplexes that we do not favour a complex sentence derivation of com-:parative sentences. While many of the arguments for such an analysis may be valid for English, there are complications if such arguments are applied to Efik. First, while in English (74)a and (74)b are paraphrases, in Efik (75)b, which is supposed to paraphrase (75)a, is highly questionable:

(74)a. Ata is taller than Bassey

(74)b. Ata is taller than Bassey is

(75)a. Ata ɔnɔŋ akan Bassey : 'Ata is taller than Bassey'

(75)b. ??Ata ɔnɔŋ akan nte Bassey ɔnɔŋde:'Ata is taller than Bassey is'

Secondly, even if (75)b were grammatical, there is the question of semantics. While (75)b implies that Bassey is tall but Ata happens to be taller, this is not necessarily the case in (75)a. There is also a similar implication in (76)b:

(76)a. Ima ɔmuhɔ akan Arit : 'Ima is$_1$ shorter than$_2$ Arit'

(76)b. ?Ima ɔmuhɔ akan nte Arit ɔmuhede:'Ima is shorter than Arit is short'

Similar to (75)b, (76)b implies that Arit is short but (76)a does not necessarily imply this.

However, as in English, sentences like (77)a are ambiguous, since it could be interpreted either as (77)b or as (77)c:

(77)a. Mmek$_1$pono enye ŋkan$_2$ Ata$_3$: 'I$_1$ respect him$_2$ more$_3$ than Ata'

(77)b. Mmekpono enye ŋkan nte ŋkponode Ata : 'I respect him more than I respect Ata'

(77)c. Mmekpono enye ŋkan nte Ata okponode enye : 'I respect him more than Ata does'

However /

However, observe that kpono (respect) is [-Adj]. Perhaps this is yet another syntactic difference between [+Adj] verbals and [-Adj] verbals (cf.2.9 above). So while there may be grounds for deriving comparative sentences involving [-Adj] verbals from complex sentence sources, there are no such grounds for deriving comparative sentences involving [+Adj] verbals in a similar way. On the other hand there are semantic grounds for not doing so, as shown above.

2.11 Nyene and Di (Have and Be):

We have made the VB optional so as to account for sentences of the following sort:

(78)a. Ebot edi unam : 'A goat is an animal'

(78)b. Ata enyene ebot : 'Ata has a goat'

which are analysed as NP AUX Pred and NP AUX NP, respectively. They will then require the Efik equivalents of 'be' and 'have' insertion transformations. I would like to mention in passing that the arguments presented by Bach (1967) in connection with reduced attributive clauses also apply to Efik – , (cf.3.6).

With regard to nyene (have), it could be argued that this element may well be a contextual variant of di (be), because of sentences like the following:

(79)a. Ata enyene eti ido : 'Ata has a good character'
1 2 3 1 2 3

(79)b. Ata ɔfɔn ido : 'Ata is good in character'

(80)a. ɪme enyene idiɔk enyin eti eti : 'ɪme has very bad eyes (i.e. looks at people in a bad or unusual way)

(80)b. Ime ɔdiɔk enyin eti eti : 'Ime has very bad eyes (i.e. looks at people in a bad or unusual way)

(81)a. Mma oro enyene ediye iso : 'The lady has a pretty face'
1 2 3 4 5 2 1 3 4 5

(81)b. /

(81)b. Mma oro eye iso : 'The lady has a pretty face'

where the (a) examples are synonymous with the (b) examples. Support for our claim comes from comparison of (79) - (81) with (48) - (50) (cf.2.9). The (a) sentences in (48) - (50) have di (be) while the (a) counterparts in (79) - (81) have nyene (have). Di in (48)a - (50)a cannot substitute for nyene in (79)a - (81)a or vice-versa. It seems plausible therefore to assume that di and nyene may well be contextual variants, especially as what follow eti, idiɔk and ediye in (79)a - (81)a are typically parts of the body and what follow the adjectives in (48)a - (50)a are more or less generic nouns.

2.12 Adjunct:

Finally, the expansion of S includes an optional category ADJT (Adjunct). Instead of adverbs, we prefer adjunct partly because there are several kinds of adverbs (e.g. manner, time, etc.) and partly because adjunct as defined by Lyons (1968) is 'extranuclar'. We want precisely a category of this kind for those elements of the sentence that are not essential to the nucleus of the S. Having got this, it is expanded into a number of options, one of which is Pre-S S, to account for sentences of the following kind:

(82)a. Ata enyene eyen okposuk edi enye midɔhɔ ŋwan : 'Ata has a child
1 2 3 4 5 6 1 2

even though he is not married'
3 4 5,6

(82)b. Nnyekut Okon man nndɔŋ enye utom : 'I will see Okon so that I may
1 2 3 4 5 1 2 3

send him'
3 4

The Pre-S is supposed to dominate such phrases as okposuk edi (although) and man (so that). If we do not introduce such elements in the base, it would be problematic to do so transformationally, since for one thing these /

these elements have semantic contents, which according to our grammar should be accounted for in the base.

2.13 A Derivation:

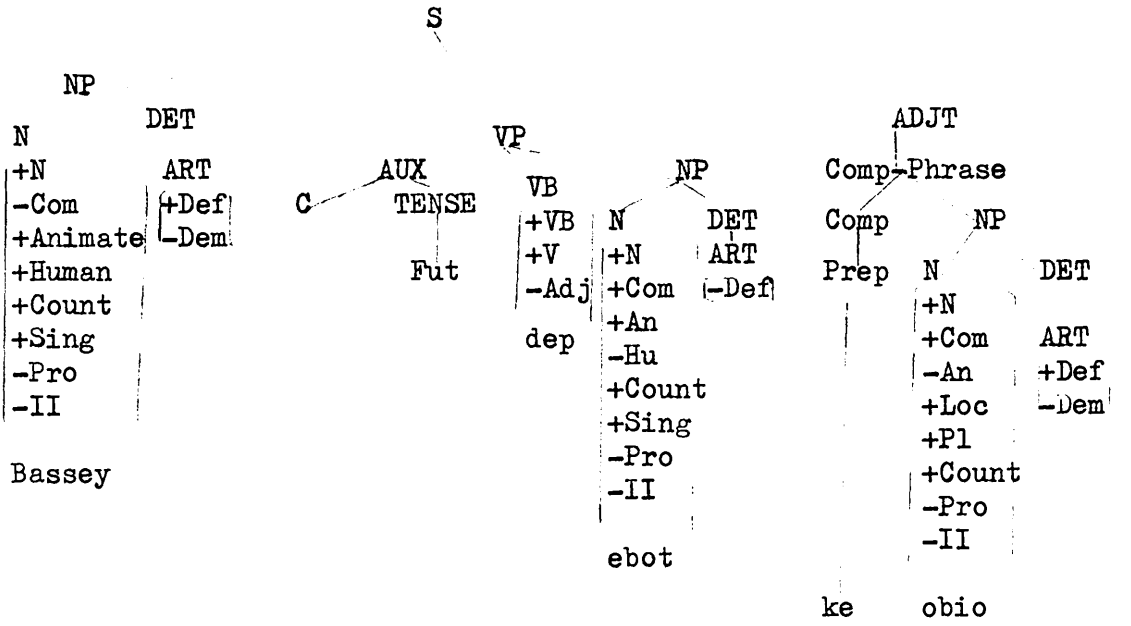
Finally in this chapter, let us take a sentence like (83) and see how it can be generated according to our base rules in 2.6 above:

(83) Bassey eyedep ebot ke obio oro : 'Bassey will buy a goat in that village'
1 2 3 4 5 ----1--- 2 3 5 4

S	
NP VP ADJT	R1
NP AUX VB NP ADJT	R2
NP C TENSE VB NP ADJT	R3
NP C Fut VB NP ADJT	R4
N DET C Fut VB NP ADJT	R10
N DET C Fut VB N DET ADJT	R10
N ART C Fut VB N DET ADJT	R13
N ART C Fut VB N ART ADJT	R13
N ART C Fut VB N ART COMP-PHRASE	R15
N ART C Fut VB N ART COMP NP	R8
N ART C Fut VB N ART Prep NP	R9
N ART C Fut VB N ART Prep N DET	R10
N ART C Fut VB N ART Prep N ART	R13

With the application of the relevant CS forming and lexicalization rules /

rules, the following structure will be generated:



CHAPTER THREE

THE NP

3.0 Introduction:

As pronominalization operates on the NP, it is considered necessary to examine this category in more detail.

3.1 Characteristics of the NP:

Most Efik nouns begin with a vowel or a syllabic and homoganic nasal, thus we have the following:

(1)a ebua :'a dog'
(1)b ubom :'a boat'
(1)c akparawa:'a youth'
(1)d ibuot: 'the head'
(1)e obot : 'a hill'
(1)f ɔkpɔ : 'bone'
(1)g mboro :'banana'
(1)h ŋwed :'a book'
(1)i ntak:'a reason'

There are, however, a few nouns which begin with non-nasal consonants, such as the following:

(2)a. bia : 'Yam'
(2)b. sokoro : 'orange'
(2)c. da : 'pal'
(2)d. koko : 'namesake'
(2)e. fiom : 'a crocodile'
(2)f. tuep : 'cold weather'

Adjectives also begin with either a vowel or a syllabic and homoganic nasal, thus we have the following examples:

(3)a. akamba : 'big'
(3)b. ediye : 'pretty'
(3)c. obubit : 'black'
(3)d. ndobi-ndobi : 'quiet'
(3)e. mfefere : 'light' (in weight)
(3)f. ŋkpɔkpɔrɔ : 'having no flesh' (e.g. ŋkpɔ-kpɔrɔ ibuot:'skull')

However, as was shown in Chapter Two (cf.2.9), most adjectives have two forms, one form as adjective proper and the other as a verb. Let us take one example:

(4) afia ebot oro:'the white goat' (1 2 3 3 1 2)
ebot oro afia:'the goat is white'
mfia ebot oro:'the white goats'
mme ebot oro efia:'the goats are white'

Clearly /

Clearly the stem of the adjective meaning 'white' is fia and the pre-:fixes are a-/m- and a-/e-. A-/m- indicate only number but a-/e- indicate both number and person. Except for a very small number of nouns, which we will see presently, nouns in general do not have stems and prefixes in this kind of clearly defined way. As Cook (1969:178-9) has pointed out, the vowel and nasal prefixes of nouns "are invariant parts of the noun in almost all cases and no longer have any grammatical significance except to indicate that the word in which they occur is a noun....They are now 'frozen' as part of the noun and no longer actually function as prefixes". So while the noun prefixes (at least in a major-:ity of cases) are 'inherent' part of the noun, at least synchronically, the adjective prefixes are derived as a result of the concord between adjectives and nouns (cf.Footnote 9 in Chapter Two).

Secondly, most nouns may be either singular or plural. Plurality is indicated in several ways (e.g. by the use of numerals iba (two) and above, the use of some quantifiers like ediwak (many), etc.). But the commonest way of showing plurality is by the use of the plural morpheme mme, as in these examples:

(5)

Singular	Plural
ebot (a goat)	mme ebot (goats)
owo (a person)	mme owo (persons, people)
inɔ (a thief)	mme inɔ (thieves)
okpokoro (a table)	mme okpokoro (tables)
ntak (a reason)	mme ntak (reasons)
ŋkpɔ (a thing)	mme ŋkpɔ (things)

Mme is used optionally, since it is quite common to have nouns in the plural without the use of mme. Consider the following sentences, for example:

(6)a. Owo ema edi ediyom mbufo : 'People came to see you'
1 ---2--- 3 4 1 2 3 4

(6)b. /

(6)b. Enaŋ ebiat iŋwaŋ mmi : 'Cows have destroyed my farm'
1 2 3 4 1 2 4 3

If the noun has an article, however, the plural morpheme must be used, thus (7) are grammatical but (8) are not:

(7)a. Mme ete oro eyom fi : 'The men are looking for you'
1 2 3 4 2 1 3 4

(7)b. Mme andikpep oro edaha : 'The teachers have left'
1 2 3 2 1 3

(8)a. *Ete oro eyom fi : 'The men are looking for you'

(8)b. *Andikpep oro edaha : 'The teachers have left'

Another way of showing number is what Winston (1970:420) calls 'alternation of prefix for number'. This is less common in modern Efik and applies to only a small number of singular nouns beginning with a vowel, as in these examples:

(9)

Singular	Plural
ɔ-bɔŋ (a chief)	m-bɔ:ŋ (chiefs)
e-didem (a king)	n-didem (kings)
a-kparawa (a youth)	-kparawa (youths)
a-bia (an informant)	m-bia (informants)
a-ta-utop (a hunter)	n-ta-utop (also mme ata-utop) (hunters)

It is also possible to have mme along with such plural nouns, as in the following examples:

(10) mme mbɔŋ (chiefs)
mme ndidem (kings)
mme ŋkparawa (youths)
mme mbia (informants)
mme nta-utop (hunters)

Thirdly, as already shown in 2.7.1, only the NP allows WH question, thus we have the following, for example:

(11)a. anie eyen? : 'which child?'

(11)b. nso leta? : 'what letter'

(11)c. /

(11)c. mme anie mbɔŋ? : 'which chiefs?'

(11)d. mmoto ewe? : 'which car?'

However, as was pointed out then, NPs with articles do not allow WH, thus (11)e, for example, is ungrammatical:

(11)e. *Anie owo oro ke oyom? : 'Which the man do you want?'

Fourthly, NPs act as antecedents to relative clauses. Consider the following, for example:

(12)a. ŋkesaŋa ye Bassey : 'I went with Bassey'

(12)b. ŋkesaŋa ye Bassey emi okoduŋde mi: 'I went with the Bassey who lived here'

(13)a. Eyen oro imaha fi : 'The boy doesn't like you'

(13)b. Eyen emi akanyaŋade imaha fi : 'The boy you helped doesn't like you'

Finally, if the NP has a modifier, the nominal head may be deleted in contexts where both the speaker and hearer know what they are talking about.(cf. discussion in 2.8.1). Consider (14) and (15):

(14)a. Nnyom okpokoro emi : 'I want this table'

(14)b. Ndusuk iban edaha : 'Some women have left'

(14)c. Ekpri ebɔt oro okosop : 'It is the small goat which got lost'

(15)a. Nnyom emi : 'I want this'

(15)b. Ndusuk edaha : 'Some have gone'

(15)c. Ekpri oro okosop : 'It is the small one which got lost'

Except in context, there is no way of recovering the deleted Ns in (15) from the grammar.

All these properties taken together go a long way to identify the NP as a category.

3.2 /

3.2 Expansion and Constraints

For convenience, we repeat below the base rules that expand the NP:

10. NP ⟶ { ({ Quant / Q / Num }) (PART) N DET ({ S / EMPH }) / S / ye NP NP* }

11. Q ⟶ WH

12. PART ⟶ NP PT

13. DET ⟶ (NUM) (NOM) ART

14. NOM ⟶ NP

15. EMPH ⟶ { REDUPL / INT }

In the following sections, we will consider the constituents of the NP and see how they relate to one another. At the centre of all of them is the nominal head N, which controls the selection of others. Except for the DET, the N is the only obligatory element in the base. But as we shall see later, even the DET (or its constituent) must be deleted in some cases to generate well-formed surface sentences.

3.2.1 Quant N:

The following can be analysed as Quant N:

(16)a. Ediwak unam : 'Many animals'
1 2 1 2

(16)b. Ndusuk iban : 'Some women'
1 2 1 2

(16)c. Kpukpru ubom : 'All canoes'

Quant does not co-occur with some constituents of the NP. Consider the following examples:

(17)a. *Mme anie ediwak ŋkparawa? : 'Which many youths?'

(17)b. /

(17)b. *Oyom ndusuk owo ndusuk owo :'Do you want some people some people'

(17)a shows that both Q and Quant do not co-occur. Rule 10 of the base rules of course indicates this. (17)b shows that quantified NPs cannot be reduplicated: in other words, Quant and REDUPL do not co-occur. As this is not accounted for by the base rules the Reduplication transfor-:mation can be so formulated as not to apply if the NP to be reduplicated dominates a Quant.

3.2.2 Q N:

WH as a constituent of the NP has been mentioned in 2.7.1, 3.1 and 3.2.1. In this section, we wish to consider the co-occurrence restrictions between this category and the other noun modifiers. As (17)a above shows, WH and Quant do not co-occur. In addition, as (11)e above shows, WH and the article do not appear to co-occur. Yet in our base rules, both WH and ART co-occur. However, there is a rule which deletes the ART either optionally or obligatorily. So the ART Deletion rule must apply obligatorily if the NP dominates a WH to generate such well-formed surface sentences as the following:

(18)a. Anie eyen?: 'Which boy?'

(18)b. Nso okuk? : 'What money?'

Furthermore, like Quant, WH does not co-occur with REDUPL. In other words, WH NPs should not be reduplicated, thus (19), for example, are not well-formed:

(19)a. *Anie Bassey anie Bassey edi eren owo? : 'Which Bassey which Bassey is a man?'

(19)b. *Nnyomke nso okuk nso okuk? : 'I don't want what money what money?'

Without the question markers (19) would be perfectly grammatical, as (20) show:

(20)a. /

(20)a. Bassey Bassey edi eren owo? : 'Is Bassey the only person?'

(20)b. Nnyomke okuk okuk : 'I don't want only money'

The ungrammaticality of (19) can be handled in much the way as the ungrammaticality of (17)b.

3.2.3 PART N

PART N accounts for partitive constructions such as the following:

(21)a. Ndusuk owo ke otu owo edip oro : 'Some people of the twenty people'
1 2 3 4 5 6 1 2 3/4 6 5

(21)b. Anie akparawa ke otu ŋkparawa oko? : 'Which youth of the youths over there?'
1 2 3 1 2 3

(21)c. Unen iba ke otu unen ition emi : 'Two hens of these five hens'
1 2 3 4 1 2 4 3

As Rule 10 shows, although PART is an optional category, if it occurs, it must be preceded by one of the categories Quant, Q (which must be expanded as WH) or NUM. If none of these categories occur in this position, then the string would be ill-formed, as (22) below show:

(22)a. *Owo ke otu owo edip oro : 'A man out of the twenty people'

(22)b. *Akparawa ke otu ŋkparawa oko : 'A youth out of the youths over there'

(22)c. *Unen ke otu unen ition emi : 'A hen out of these five hens'

Since NUM may occur without PART (though not in a preceding position) and since the expansion of DET also includes a NUM, strings such as the following may be generated by Rules 10 and 13:

(23)a. *Iba eto ita : 'Two trees three'
1 2 3 1 2 3

(23)b. *Duop unen itiabe : 'Ten hens seven'
1 2 3 1 2 3

Strings such as (23) can be handled by a deep structure constraint that labels as ill-formed any NP structure which dominates two NUMs without an intervening PART.

3.3 /

3.3 N DET:

DET is expanded to include two optional elements NUM and NOM, and an obligatory one ART. Syntactically at the surface level each of these categories can follow N immediately in parallel positions as these examples show:

(24)a. Mmoto iba : 'Two cars'

(24)b. Mmoto Bassey : 'Bassey's car'

(24)c. Mmoto oro : 'The car'

If NUM and NOM occur together, the two could be optionally permuted with each other, as (25) show:

(25)a. Mmoto iba Bassey : 'Bassey's two cars'

(25)b. Mmoto Bassey iba : 'Bassey's two cars'

In the following sections, we will examine NOM and ART in some more detail. As NUM is fairly straightforward, we will say no more about it.

3.3.1 N NOM:

N NOM accounts for possessive cases. The following NPs have NOM as one of the constituents:

(26)a. Itam Bassey : 'Bassey's hat'

(26)b. Okuk eyen oro : 'The boy's money'

Besides NUM and ART, NOM can also occur with other NP modifiers such as WH, Quant, S (relative clause) or EMPH, as the following examples show:

(27)a. Ewe itam Ata? : 'Which hat of Ata's?'

(27)b. Kpukpru ufan ete oro : 'All the man's friends'

(27)c. Okuk Bassey emi osopde : 'Bassey's money which is lost'

(27)d. Eyen Bassey ke idem esie : 'Bassey's son himself'

3.3.2 /

3.3.2 N ART:

The following are analysed as N ART:

(28)a. Itam emi : 'This hat'

(28)b. Itam oro : 'That/the hat'

(28)c. Itam oko : 'Yonder hat'

The articles are the demonstratives emi (this), oro (that near the hearer) and oko (yonder, over there far from both speaker and hearer). Oro is also translatable as the English definite article the.

Articles occur with personal pronouns as well:

(29)a. Ami emi : 'This I'

(29)b. Afo emi : 'This you'

(29)c. Afo oro : 'That you'

(29)d. Enye emi : 'This he/she/it'

(29)e. Enye oro : 'That he/she/it'

(29)f. Enye oko : 'Yonder he/she/it'

However ami (I) does not occur with oro or oko and oko does not occur with afo, as these examples show:

(30)a. *Ami oro : 'That I'

(30)b. *Ami oko : 'Yonder I'

(30)c. *Afo oko : 'Yonder you'

From (29) and (30) it can be said that the first person occurs only with emi, the second person with either emi or oro, and the third person with all three emi, oro and oko. So oko occurs with only the third person. Like oko, eken (other) occurs with only the third person, as the following examples show:

(31)a. *Ami eken : 'The other I'

(31)b. *Afo eken : 'The other you'

(31)c. /

(31)c. Enye eken : 'The other he/she/it'

Although ART is obligatory in the base in our grammar, certain NPs occur without explicit articles in the surface structure as in these examples:

(32)a. Bassey edi : 'Bassey has come'

(32)b. Owo oyom fi : 'Someone is looking for you'

(32)c. Etubom iduhe : 'The headmaster is not in (school)'

Such NPs include proper nouns, indefinite NPs and certain NPs indicating office holders. Such NPs could be handled by the ART Deletion Rule (cf. the summary of Rules in the Appendix for the formulation of this Rule).

In our grammar, emi, oro, oko, etc. do not occur as lexical items in the base. Rather they are introduced during the second lexical pass in accordance with the feature specifications. For example, an ART node marked [+Def, +Dem, +Prox] is realised as emi (this); another marked [+Def, +Dem, -Prox, +There] is realised as oro (that near the hearer); and a third marked [+Def, +Dem, -Prox, -There] is realised as oko. If an ART has no surface realization, then it is obligatorily deleted. As all [-Def] ARTs have no surface realizations they are obligatorily deleted. A [+Def, -Dem] ART may also be deleted if the N is [-Common] as the following examples show:

(33)a. Bassey oro ididihe : 'Bassey will not come'

(33)b. Bassey ididihe : 'Bassey will not come'

Ordinarily, however, the ART is deleted unless some emphasis is involved. This is also the case if the N is [+Pro] and the ART is [+Def, -Dem]. Thus (34)b is ordinarily preferred to (34)a:

(34)a Mmɔ oro ema edi : 'They came'

(34)b Mmɔ ema edi : 'They came'

There /

There are problems with the status of article features of this kind just as there are with the syntactic features of nouns. Brown (1972:42-44) discusses these and concludes that "many determiners must ultimately be derived from an orientational component". Whatever may be the ultimate status of these features, they certainly perform syntactic functions. As we have seen above, the surface realizations of these articles and the deletion of the entire node depend on the features on the node itself. The feature [+Dem] also appears to play a role in relativization (cf.8.2), as these examples show:

(35)a *Ete oko emi ayarade itam okoyom fi
1 2 3 4 5 6 7
'Yonder man who has on a hat wanted you'
2 1 3 4 5 6 7

(35)b *Mmaha okpokoro emi emi enye ekedepde
1 2 3 4 5 6
'I don't like this table which he bought'
1 3 2 4 5 6

We do not think [+Dem] in this instance is being used for 'selection'. On the other hand, what we are suggesting is that [+Dem] performs a blocking function here and blocking a transformation is clearly syntactic.

3.4 N EMPH

N EMPH is designed to account for emphatic NPs. Although there are other kinds of emphases (e.g. topicalization) that affect the NP, for our purposes we limit the expansion of EMPH to INT and REDUPL, because intensification and reduplication appear to perform distinctive semantic functions that should be accounted for in the base. Consider these pairs of sentences, for example:

(36)a. Bassey eyeka do : 'Bassey will go there'

(36)b. Bassey ke idem esie eyeka do : 'Bassey himself (and not his subordinates, for example) will go there'

(37)a. /

(37)a. Enye imaha ŋwan esie ŋwan esie : 'He doesn't love his wife only'
(implying he does love other people)

where the emphatic and the non-emphatic examples are clearly different in meaning.

Whether (38)b involving topicalization is sufficiently semantically different from (38)a, which does not involve topicalization, is not quite clear to me.

(38)a. Nnyom itam : 'Iwant a hat'

(38)b. Itam ke nnyom : 'It is a hat that I want'

Incidentally, to a question like (38)c, either (38)a or (38)b could be given as an answer.

(38)c. Oyom nso?: 'What do you want?'

Observe that EMPH does not co-occur with S (which accounts for relative clauses) as our analysis shows. Thus (39) are ungrammatical:

(39)a. *Ata ke idem esie emi ekedide mi : 'Ata himself who came here'

(39)b. *Ata Ata emi mikedihe mi : 'Only Ata who did not come here'

3.5 NP as S

Rule 10 shows that the NP can be expanded as an S. This is designed to account for such surface sentences as the following:

(40)a. Enem enye ndibe udomo : 'It pleases him to pass examinations'
1 2 3 4 1 2 3 4

(40)b. Eyeyat enye esit ndikut mi do :'It will annoy him to see me there'
1 2 3 4 5 6 1 3 4 5 6

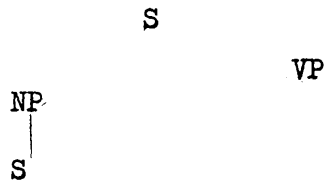
Clearly sentences such as (40) are derived from sources underlying (41):

(41)a. Ndibe udomo enem enye : 'To pass examinations pleases him'

(41)b. Ndikut mi do eyeyat enye esit:'For him to see me there will annoy him'

where the subjects are the strings ndibe udomo and ndikut mi do. Both these strings are of course analysable as S's. Since NPs are subjects of /

of sentences, then such sentential subjects as those in (41) must be analysed as NPs dominated immediately by the superordinate S thus:



3.6 <u>ye NP NP*</u>[1]:

The above consitutent accounts for conjoined or co-ordinate NPs, which are /

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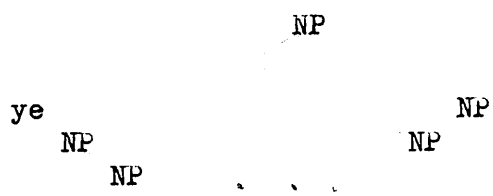
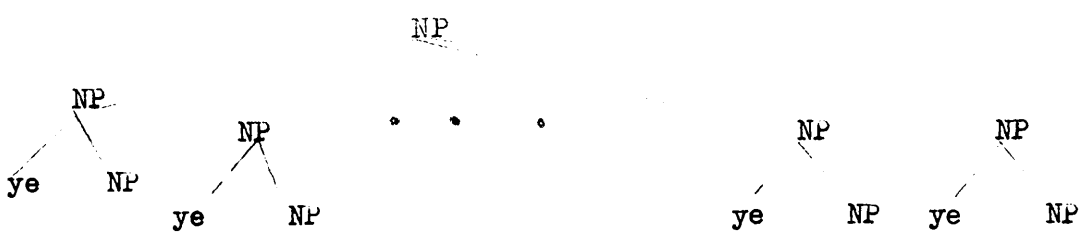
1. Without going into details, we assume that, following Lakoff and Peters (1966:114) ye NP NP* is to be interpreted as an infinite collection of rules such that all the rules are of the form NP — ye NP NP...NP NP where the number of NPs to the right of the arrow is finite and is either equal to or greater than two. These rules then generate the following:



According to Lakoff and Peters "there is a universal principle which converts structures" of the above kind to the one below:



Following the English analysis, an obligatory ye-Deletion rule will delete the first <u>ye</u> and another optional rule will delete all but the last <u>ye</u> (cf. the examples in 43)

are also discussed in Chapter Five (5.3.1). The following examples contain conjoined NPs:

(42)a. Bassey ye Ime eka udua : 'Bassey and Ime have gone to the market'
1 2 3 1 ----2---- 3

(42)b. Nnyom eso ye usan : 'I want a pot and a plate'
1 2 3 4 -1---- 2 3 4

(42)c. Enye ama odu ke Uyo ye Calabar : 'He lived in Uyo and Calabar'
1 ---2---- 3 1 2 3

The conjoined NPs in (42) are Bassey ye Ime, eso ye usan (a pot and a plate) and Uyo and Calabar. The conjoining element is of course ye. As in English, if more than two NPs are conjoined, all but the last ye may be deleted. Consider (43) for example:

(43)a. Nnyedep ebua ye ebot ye enan ye unen: 'I will buy a dog and a goat
1 2 3 4 5 6 ------1--- 2 3 4
and a cow and a hen'
5 6

(43)b. Nnyedep ebua, ebot, enan ye unen:'I will buy a dog, a goat, a cow
and a hen'

In general, examples like (43)b are preferred to those like (43)a. In addition, modifiers of the constituent NPs may be deleted. If the modifiers are pre-nominal modifiers, then it is the modifier of the first constituent which is undeleted. Consider the following examples, which have a quantifier and a WH question respectively. Both the quantifier and WH question are pre-nominal modifiers.

(44)a. Ediwak iban ye ediwak iden-owo ikedihe:'Many women and many men
1 2 3 4 1 2 3
did not come'

(44)b. Ediwak iban ye iden-owo ikedihe:'Many women and men did not come'

(45)a. Oyom nso mmin ye nso udia? :'What wine and/food do you want?'
what
1 2 3 4 2 3 4 ------1----

(45)b. Oyom nso mmin ye udia? : 'What wine and food do you want?'

(44)a and (44)b, and (45)a and (45)b are paraphrases of each other respectively.

If, however, the nominal modifier is a post-modifier, then it is the modifier of the last constituent NP which is not deleted, as these examples /

examples show:

(46)a. Mmekot mma oro ye ete oro : 'I have invited the lady and the gentleman'

(46)b. Mmekot mma ye ete oro : 'I have invited the lady and gentleman'

(47)a. Nnyom mmoto Bassey ye enaŋ-ukwak Bassey : 'I want Bassey's car and Bassey's bicycle'

(47)b. Nnyom mmoto ye enaŋ-ukwak Bassey:'I want Bassey's car and bicycle'

Not all NP modifiers can be deleted. The numeral, for example, should not be deleted, since such a deletion would result in a semantic difference between the full version and the deleted version. (48)a and (48)b below illustrate this point:

(48)a. Enye eyedep ebua ition ye aŋwa ition:'He will buy five dogs and five cats'

(48)b. Enye eyedep ebua ye aŋwa ition : 'He will buy a dog and five cats'

Clearly (48)a and (48)b are semantically different.

Where both kinds of modifiers occur in the same NP, the same principle still applies: the first constituent NP retains a pre-nominal modifier while the last NP retains a post-nominal modifier. (49)a and (49)b illustrate this point:

(49)a. Ndusuk iban oro ye ndusuk iden-owo oro ikeyomke enye
'Some of the women and some of the men did not want him'

(49)b. Ndusuk iban ye iden-owo oro ikeyomke enye:'Some of the women and men did not want him'

However, the first NP may retain both kinds of modifiers, as (50) shows:

(50) Ndusuk iban oro ye iden-owo ikeyomke enye:'Some of the women and men did not want him'

But (49)b is preferred to (50), at least in my dialect. Apparently the last NP is not allowed to retain all the modifiers, as (51) shows:

(51) /

(51) Iban ye ndusuk iden-owo oro ikeyomke enye :

'The women and some of the men did not want him'

Observe that (51) is not synonymous with (50) and (49)b, which are paraphrases of each other.

The above deletions are of course handled by the transformational sub-component of the grammar.

3.7 The NP and Adjective:

In Chapter Two (cf.2.9) we analysed the adjective as a verbal in much the same way as the ordinary verb is and argued that there should be a double entry in the lexicon for adjectives which have two forms, since a transformational derivation of one form from another has attendant problems. In this section, we wish to consider how adjectives (or more precisely [+Adj] verbals) are derived in sentences. In particular, we wish to see how attributive adjectives such as akamba and ediye in the following sentences are derived in the base:

(52)a. Bassey oyom akamba bia oro : 'Bassey wants the big yam'
1 2 3 4 1 4 2 3

(52)b. Ediye mma oro ama fi : 'The beautiful lady loves you'
1 2 3 4 5 3 1 2 4 5

Like all verbals, adjectives must have an NP subject in the deep structure in our grammar. So we have such sentences as the following:

(53)a. Bia oro edi akamba : 'The yam is big'

(53)b. Bia oro okpon : 'The yam is big'

(54)a. Mma oro edi ediye owo : 'The lady is a pretty person'

(54)b. Mma oro eye : 'The lady is pretty'

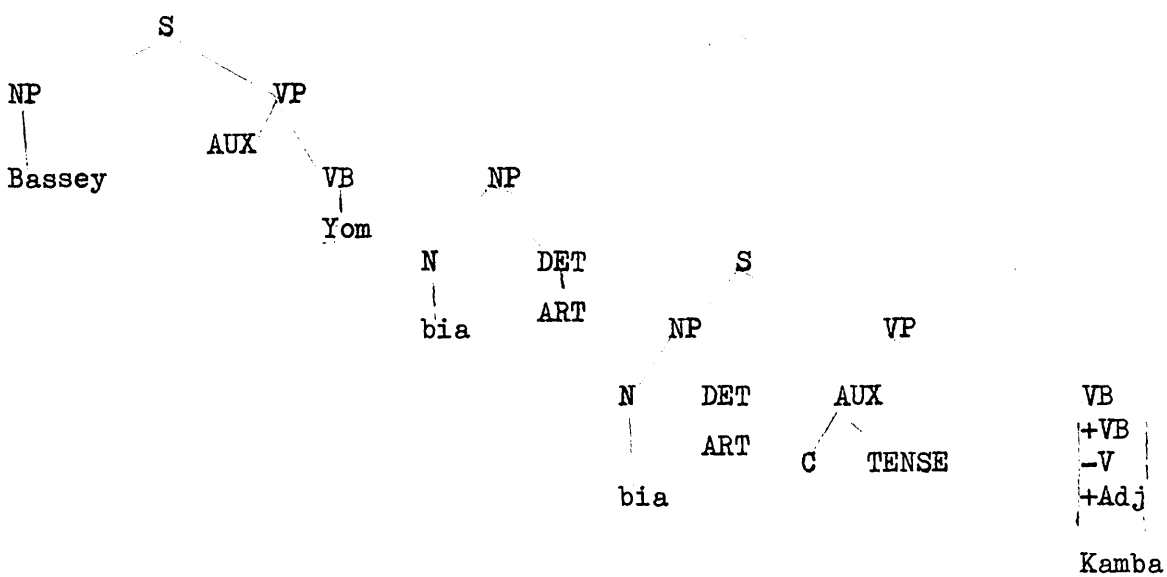
where the verbals akamba/okpon and ediye/eye have as their subjects bia oro and mma oro respectively in (53) and (54). If so, it follows that in the deep structure of (52), bia oro and mma oro must be the subjects /

subjects of the verbals akamba and ediye. In other words, in the deep structures of (52) there must be embedded S's of these sorts:

(55)a. Bia ART AUX kamba : 'Yam ART AUX big'

(55)b. Mma ART AUX ye : 'Lady ART AUX beautiful'

As in English such embedded S's must be modifiers of the NPs which the adjectives themselves modify attributively in the surface structure. It seems therefore clear that sentences like (52) are derived from deep structures with relative clauses. For example, a structure such as (56a) underlies (52)a:



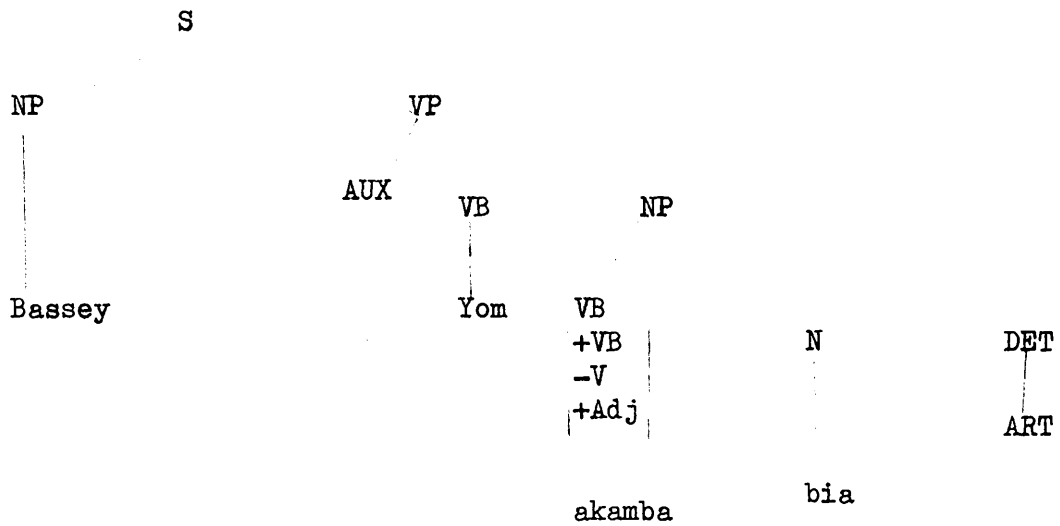
(56a)

To derive (52)a from (56a) the following rules are required, among others:

(i) In the embedded S, the concord rule will apply and because the verbal is [-V, +Adj], only the number prefix is attached to the VB to derive akamba;

(ii) The Relative Clause Reduction Rule will then apply deleting the subject of the embedded S and the AUX node and then permuting the akamba with bia, the object of the matrix S (see the Appendix for details /

details of this Rule). These Rules together will generate the following structure:

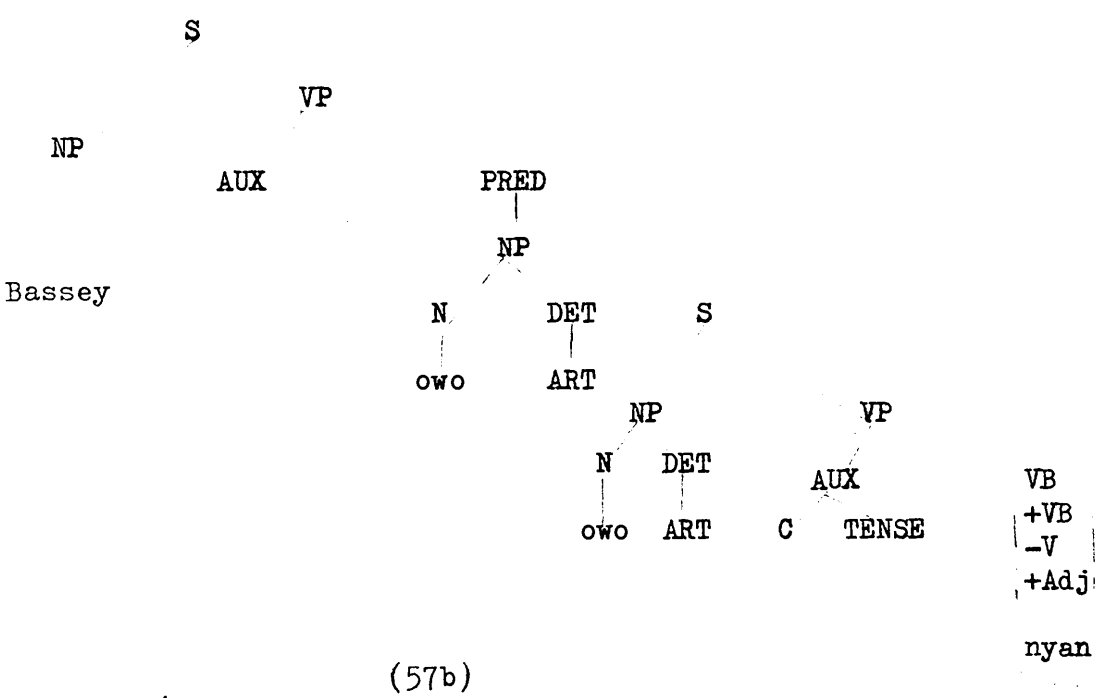


(56b)

When the other rules, which are not relevant to the adjectives, apply (52)a will be generated.

Sometimes it is necessary to introduce a <u>di</u> (be) form. Consider (57a), for example, which is derived from (57b):

(57)a. Bassey edi anyan owo : 'Bassey is a tall person'
1 2 3 1 2 3



(57b)

After /

After the concord and the relative clause reduction rules as explained above have applied, the following string will be generated:

(57)c. Bassey AUX anyan owo ART : 'Bassey AUX tall person ART'
NP NP
PRED PRED

The 'be' insertion rule will apply to a string like (57c) with an immediately following [-V, +Adj] verbal to generate (57a).

In English, it is not only adjectives that are derived from relative clauses. Bach (1970) has shown that like adjectives (and verbs) nouns, especially the common ones, can be derived from relative clauses. Examples can be cited in Efik to support this kind of analysis for such nouns. For example, ɔtɔ-iŋwaŋ (a farmer) and andikara (a ruler) could be said to be derived from strings such as (58):

(58)a. Owo emi ɔtɔde iŋwaŋ : 'One who plants on the farm'
1 2 3 4 1 2 3 4

(58)b. Owo emi akarade : 'One who rules'
1 2 3 1 2 3

We acknowledge that the Bach analysis could be applied to Efik with some interesting results.

CHAPTER FOUR

PRONOUNS AND PRONOMINALIZATION

4.1 Pronouns:

In this Chapter we will discuss pronouns and pronominalization in broad outlines. Previous analyses (e.g. Goldie, Adams, Winston) have tended to classify pronouns as follows:

Demonstrative Pronouns: emi (this near the speaker); oro (that near the hearer); oko (that away from both speaker and hearer); eken (that other there); efen (another).

Interrogative Pronouns: anie? (who, which?); nso? (which,what?), ewe/efe/eke? (which, what?)

Relative Pronouns : emi (which, who, that); se (that, what, which); oro (that, which); eke (who, which).

Personal Pronouns : ami (I); afo/imɔ (you); enye/imɔ (he/she/it); nnyin (we); mbufo/mmimmɔ (you pl); mmɔ/mmimɔ (they)

Reflexive Pronouns : idem mmi (myself); idem fo/imɔ (yourself); idem esie/imɔ (himself/herself/itself); idem nnyin (ourselves); idem mbufo/mmimɔ (yourselves); idem mmɔ/mmimɔ (themselves).

Reciprocal Pronoun : kiet eken (each other).

Possessive Pronouns : mmi (my); fo/imɔ (your); esie/imɔ (his/her/its); nnyin (our); mbufo/mmimɔ (your pl); mmɔ/mmimɔ (their)

For our purposes, we will recognise the following as pronouns, for it is actually they which replace or substitute for the NP in the traditional sense of pronouns: relative pronouns, personal pronouns, reflexive pronouns, reciprocal pronouns and possessive pronouns. We will also recognise the locatives mi (here) and do (there) as pronominal.

As /

As for demonstratives and interrogatives, they are better analysed as nominal modifiers, as we have already shown in Chapters Two and Three. The fact that there are such paraphrases as (1a) and (1b) and (2a) and (2b)

(1)a. Emi edi itam Okon : 'This is Okon's hat'
1 2 3 1 2 3

(1)b. Itam emi edi itam Okon : 'This hat is Okon's hat'

(2)a. Afo oyom nso? : 'What do you want?'
1 2 3 3 1 2

(2)b. Afo oyom nso ŋkpɔ? : 'What thing do you want?'

shows that (1a) and (2a) in fact have underlying Ns as part of the subject and object, respectively. Recall that in Chapter Three (cf.3.1) it was shown that if an NP has a modifier, the nominal head (N) may be deleted in situations where both the speaker and the hearer know what they are talking about. Except in sentences like (1a) or NPs with ŋkpɔ (e.g. 2b) or owo (a person) as the nominal head, recovery of the deleted nominal is situationally determined, as was pointed out in 3.1. We will return to ŋkpɔ and owo in 4.1.2.

4.1.1 Personal Pronouns:

These pronouns are marked for number and of course for person. As already pointed out (cf.2.8.1), these features of person and number are copied onto the VP by the concord rule, thus making it possible for personal pronouns to be optionally deletable in Efik, once this rule has applied. The distinction between (3) and (4) below is therefore essentially a matter of formality and informality:

(3)a. Ami mmeka do : 'I have gone there'
1 2 3 1 2 3

(3)b. Afo ameka do : 'You have gone there'
1 1

(3)c. Enye aka do : 'He/she/it has gone there'
1 1

(3)d. /

(3)d. Nnyin imeka do : 'We have gone there'

(3)e. Mbufo emeka do : 'You (pl) have gone there'

(3)f. Mmɔ eka do : 'They have gone there'

(4)a. Mmeka do : 'Ihave gone there'

(4)b. Ameka do : 'You have gone there'

(4)c. Aka do : 'He/she/it has gone there'

(4)d. Imeka do : 'We have gone there'

(4)e. Emeka do : 'You (pl) have gone there'

(4)f. Eka do : 'They have gone there'

In normal everyday speech, (4) are more common.

The first and second persons singular have positionally determined allomorphs, as these examples show:

(5)a. Bassey oyom mi : 'Bassey wants me'

(5)b. Eyen mmi imaha enye : 'My son doesn't like him'

(6)a. Mma oro eyesobo fi : 'The lady will meet you'

(6)b. Ete fo edi andikara obio emi:'Your father is the boss of this town'

In (5a) mi is in an object position while in (5b) mmi is in a possessive position. Similarly, in (6) fi is in an object position while fo is in a possessive position.

In the Ibibio dialect, the first and second person objects are attached to the verb itself, as in (7):

(7)a. Ata ammia : 'Ata has hit me'

(7)b. Ata umia : 'Ata has hit you'

where the affixes -m- and u-[1] indicate first and second persons singular in /

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1. As the root of the verb is mia (hit), it appears the prefix u- (which performs an object function) has replaced the subject prefix a-.

in that dialect. In Efik-Ibibio and Calabar Efik (7) would be rendered as (8):

(8)a. Ata amia mi : 'Ata has hit me'

(8)b. Ata amia fi : 'Ata has hit you'

The first and second persons plural may be 'exclusive' or 'inclusive' (Lyons 1968:277). Thus nnyin may exclude the hearer, in which case it means ami ye enye/mmɔ (I and he/they) or it may include the hearer. The inclusive use of mbufo includes only the speakers present (thus excluding others) while the exclusive use includes the hearers present as well as other person or persons not actually present. As in English, these differences are not formally marked in the language: they are contextually understood.

In our grammar the first and second persons are introduced in the base as Ns with a [+Pro] feature. Thus ami and mbufo will be represented in the lexicon thus (cf.the base rules in 2.6):

(9)a. ami (I): [+N], [+Common], [+Animate], [+Human], [+Count], [+Sing], [+Pro], [+I].

(9)b. mbufo (You): [+N], [+Common], [+Animate], [+Human], [+Count], [-Sing], [+Pro], [-I], [+II].

The third person refers to the person being talked about. In our grammar this personal pronoun may either be transformationally introduced, or introduced in the base like the first and second persons. The latter analysis accounts for deictic third person pronouns.

As gender is irrelevant in Efik, pronouns, and indeed NPs in general, are not marked for gender features.

Second and third person pronouns have a second form which occurs mainly in reported speech, as in these examples:

(10) . Afo ekekere ete imɔ iyeka do:'You thought that you would go there'
1 2 3 4 5 6 1 2 3 4 5 6

(11) /

(11). Mmɔ edɔhɔete mmimɔ iyedi : 'They say they will come'
1 2 3 4 5 1 2 4 5

In English (11) would be ambiguous but this is not the case in Efik - there is no question of ambiguity. We will discuss the use of imɔ/mmimɔ in detail in Chapter Six. Also reflexive, relative, reciprocal and possessive pronouns will be discussed in their respective Chapters.

4.1.2 Locative Pronouns:

In general the locatives mi (here), do (there) and ko (yonder) occur in the base as adjuncts, as in these examples:

(12)a. Enye ama edi mi : 'He came here'

(12)b. Nnyin iyesim do : 'We will get there'
1 1

(12)c. Sian Effiong ko : 'Tell Effiong yonder'

However, mi and do do occur anaphorically as in these examples:

(13)a. Edieke edidude ke ufɔk, nnyekut fi do
1 2 3 4 5 6 7

'If you will be at home, I will see you there'
1 2 3 4 5 6 7

(13)b. Edieke odude ke obio nnyin, enyene ndinam utom mi
1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9

'If you are in our town, you must work here'
1 2 3 5 4 6 7 9

4.1.3 Owo and ŋkpɔ :

Indefinite pronouns as such do not exist in Efik. In fact all the items which we have classified as pronouns are definite. However, owo and ŋkpɔ can be translated as the English indefinite pronouns someone and something respectively, as in these examples:

(14)a. Owo ama edi ediyom fi : 'Someone came to look for you'
1 2 3 4 1 2 3 4

(14)b. Nnyom ŋkpɔ : 'I am looking for something'

Ordinarily owo, which means a person, a human being or man, and ŋkpɔ, which /

which means a thing, are used like any common nouns, as in these examples:

(15)a. Ediwak owo eyenyime : 'Many people will agree'

(15)b. Enye ama edep ediwak ŋkpɔ : 'He bought many things'

(16)a. Mma ŋkut mme owo oro : 'I saw the men'

(16)b. Enye ikimaha mme ŋkpɔ oro : 'He didn't like those things'

A very common use of owo and ŋkpɔ is as 'place-holders', as in these examples:

(17)a. Bassey edi anyan owo : 'Bassey is a tall man'

(17)b. Owo emi edi eyen-eka mi : 'This man is my brother'

(18)a. Nso ŋkpɔ ke oyom? : 'What do you want?'

(18)b. ŋkpɔ emi edi okuo : 'This thing is yours'

As place-holders, owo and ŋkpɔ are often predictable in the environment they occur and can sometimes be deleted and be recovered after the deletion. Thus in (17) and (18) only owo in (17a) may not be deleted, as (19) show:

(19)a. *Bassey edi anyan : 'Bassey is tall'

(19)b. Emi edi eyen-eka mi : 'This is my brother'

(19)c. Nso ke oyom? : 'What do you want?'

(19)d. Emi edi okuo : 'This is yours'

4.2 Pronominalization and Some Approaches to It:

Our conception of Pronominalization includes the following : simple pronominalization, reflexivization, relativization, possessive pronominal-:ization and reciprocal pronominalization. To define pronominalization, we need to look at some of the approaches to it.

Within the standard theory of transformational generative grammar, there are three well-formulated proposals for pronominalization. First, there is /

is the Chomskian model, which derives pronouns from underlying more fully specified NPs provided such NPs satisfy certain conditions which we will discuss presently. For Chomsky, then, (at least in Aspects), the word pronoun is still understood in its etymological sense of standing for or replacing an NP "subject to very rigid grammatical rules", in Lees and Klima's (1963) words. In Aspects (p.145) the replacement pro-:cess is "an erasure operation that uses the term X to delete Y...just in case X and Y are identical". Chomsky, however, explains that Y is in fact not entirely deleted but is so deleted as to leave behind some feature ([±Human] in the case of relativization, for example) which will later assume its phonological shape (who, which, etc., in the relativi-:zation case) as a pronoun in the surface structure.

As we can see, one of the conditions for pronominalization is identity. For Chomsky, this identity is strict identity, which means the NP to be replaced must be not only lexically but also referentially identical to some other NP in the phrase marker which is a proper analysis for pro-:nominalization. It is for this reason that Chomsky suggests the introduction of referential indices to indicate sameness or difference in the base prior to pronominalization. Pronominalization will apply or fail to apply depending on whether two lexically identical NPs also have identical referential indices. It is worth quoting Chomsky himself here:

"Suppose that certain lexical items are designated 'referential' and that by a general convention, each occurrence of a referential item is assigned a marker, say an integer, as a feature. The reflexivization rule can be formulated as an erasure operation that uses one Noun Phrase to delete another. As in the case of relativization..., the erasure leaves /

leaves a residue, in particular the feature [±Human], and it introduces the new phonetic element self. Thus when applied to 'I hurt I', the first Noun Phrase is used to delete the second, finally giving, 'I hurt myself'. But by the recoverability condition on deletion, the reflexi-:vization rule (similarly, the pronominalization rule) will apply only when the integers assigned to the two items are the same. The semantic component will then interpret two referential items as having the same reference just in case they are strictly identical - in particular, in case they are assigned the same integer in the deep structure..."

The objections to the requirement that pronominalization should apply to a fully specified NP which must be strictly identical to another NP in the same phrase marker are well-known. Jackendoff (1968:5) and Bach-Peters (1970) in their famous 'Mig' sentences have shown that this would lead to infinite recursion of the deep structures of certain sentences thus making it impossible for such sentences to be generated by Chomsky's approach. We do not intend to enter into a debate on this issue.

Another proposal is the one by Postal (1966) which regards pronouns, personal ones in particular, as definite articles. Just as articles in his analysis are introduced as segments only in the intermediate structures, so are personal pronouns. In Postal's deepest structures these pronouns are present not segmentally but as syntactic features such as [±Animate], [±Human], [±Abstract], etc. For Postal, then, pronominalization in general specifies a noun stem as [+Pro] (reflexi-:vization will specify it as [+Reflexive] in addition) subject to the identity and other relevant conditions. Although identity or coreference is required between the antecedent NP and the NP to be pronominalized /

pronominalized, as in Chomsky, it is not required that this identity be strict in Chomsky's sense. The definiteness of personal pronouns is accounted for by the application of the Definitization rule which then marks pronouns as definite. Explaining how Pronominalization (i.e. simple pronominalization in our terminology), Reflexivization and Definitization apply, Postal says:

"The process of Pronominalization is, I assume, a rule which specifies a noun stem as [+Pro] if it is identical to some other noun in the same sentence, subject to appropriate and not entirely understood conditions. The rule of Reflexivization is one which specifies a noun stem as [+reflexive] and [+Pro] subject to its identity to another noun stem in the same simple sentence structure (at the point of Reflexivization). All nouns start out in the deep structure forms as [-reflexive], i.e. the specification [+reflexive] is only introduced transformationally. However, this is, as we have seen, not true of the feature specification [+Pro] which will be present in some noun bundles in the base, namely, in those underlying such surface NP as <u>someone</u>, <u>he</u>, <u>I</u>, etc., in sentences like:

(20) a. Someone saw Bill.

b. He is clever.

c. I don't believe that.

Similarly, Definitization involves specifying a noun stem as [+definite] (and generally, but not always, [-demonstrative] as well) subject to certain conditions including previous transformational specification of [+Pro]. Under these assumptions, the overall process of reflexivization which occur in sentences like:

(21) A boy hurt himself.

and pronominalization which occur in sentences like:

(22) /

(22) A boy said he would help.

are considered to be quite similar. Both involve specification of the repeated noun stem as [+Pro, +definite, -demonstrative]. The difference is whether or not the specification [+reflexive] is also assigned". For Postal then the difference between a deictic pronoun such as he in his example (20b) and an anophoric one such as he in (22) is that in the former, the noun stem in the base will bear the feature specification [+Pro] while in the latter, the rule of Pronominalization will introduce the feature [+Pro]. In both cases, however, the form he is realised after the application of a rule known as Segmentalization.

How does this analysis of English pronouns apply to Efik? Our view is that the behaviour of personal pronouns is so much like that of ordinary non-pronominal nouns that our analysis of the former (cf.4.1.1) just like the latter is justified. Consider the following examples:

(20)a. Ete oro adaha : 'The man has left'
1 2 3 2 1 ---3---

(20)b. Enye oro adaha : 'The he has left'
1 2 3 2 1 ---3---

(21)a. Mme ete oro edaha : 'The men have left'

(21)b. Mme mmɔ oro edaha : 'The they have left'
---1---

In (20b) enye occurs with the article oro just as the ordinary noun ete while in (21b) the pronoun mmɔ allows the plural morpheme mme just as ete in (21a). Even mmimɔ (the other form of the second person plural or the third person plural used in reported speech) may be said to be in fact mme + imɔ (i.e. plural morpheme + imɔ), as these examples show:

(22)a. Afo ekere ete imɔ imeye : 'You (sing) think you are pretty'
1 2 3 4 5 1 2 4 5

(22)b. Mbufo ekere ete mmimɔ imeye : 'You (pl) think you are pretty'

(23)a. Enye ekere ete imɔ imeye : 'She thinks that she is pretty'

(23)b. Mmɔ ekere ete mmimɔ imeye : 'They think that they are pretty'

Pronouns /

Pronouns also allow such monimal modifiers as quantifiers, numerals and relative clauses, just as ordinary nouns, as the following examples show:

(24)a. Ndusuk iban : 'Some woman'

(24)b. Ndusuk nnyin : 'Some of us'

(25)a. Iban ition ema edi : 'Five women came'

(25)b. Nnyin ition ima idi : 'We five came'

(26)a. Akparawa emi nnyomde iduhe : 'The lad I want is not in'

(26)b. Enye emi nnyomde iduhe : 'The he/one that I want is not in'

It is even possible to get attributive adjectives with pronouns, as in these examples:

(27)a. Ekpri afo anam emi? : 'Small you did this?'
1 2 3 4 1 2 3 4

(27)b. Ndisime mmɔ oro esinam ŋkpɔ ntre:'Stupid they do things like that'
1 2 3 4 5 6 1 2 4 5 ----6---- (as a habit).

These are all surface structures but of course surface structures are related to deep structures.

However, we will adapt some aspects of Postal's analysis for our purposes. For example as he does, when a pronominalization rule applies, the feature [+Pro] (as well as other features like [+reflexive], where necessary) will be introduced. The phonological shape of the pronoun will be deter-:mined partly by such feature or features and partly by others like those of person and number.

We now turn to the third approach to pronominalization, namely, Jackendoff's (1968) hypothesis which allows pronouns themselves to be generated in the base "as lexical items inserted into the base structure". Then all the properties of these items, according to Jackendoff, are explained in terms of the rules of semantic interpretation. In this approach, which Jackendoff calls 'interpretative theory' NPs will be unmarked for coreference in the base, unlike in Chomsky's and Postal's models, where one /

one of the conditions for the application of the pronominalization rule is that the NP to be pronominalized must be coreferential with another NP in the same phrase marker. It is the rules of semantic interpretation which "establish relations between pairs of noun phrases marking them as coreferential or non-coreferential with each other" (p.5). For example, an interpretative rule for reflexivization is formulated (Jackendoff 1972:112) thus:

"(4.9) (Reflexivization, first approximation)

Enter in the table:

NP^1 α coref $\left|\begin{array}{l} NP^2 \\ \\ \alpha\text{reflexive} \end{array}\right.$ in the environment...

O B L I G A T O R Y"

Such a rule, according to Jackendoff, says "in the proper contexts for reflexivization, NP^2 is coreferential with NP^1 if and if only it is reflexive".

For Jackendoff, then, pronominalization consists in specifying the relations between two NPs in a phrase marker, in particular marking these NPs coreferential. To enrich his theory, Jackendoff needs some blocking devices to ensure well-formedness. One such device is what he calls 'Consistency Condition'. This condition rejects strings such as the following, which are Jackendoff's own examples:

*The boy shot herself

*Finkelstein shot yourself (cf.Jackendoff 1972:112-117)

He also needs "a well-formedness condition on the table of coreference to reject a sentence if it contains a reflexive without an antecedent" (p.114). Such a condition will rule out a sentence like (his example, again):

*Himself was sick.

One /

One of the advantages of this analysis, according to Jackendoff, is that the recursion problem mentioned above does not arise. As he puts it, "if the reference of pronouns is determined by a rule of semantic interpretation, the deep structure... contains the pronouns themselves, so there is no recursion" (p.110). Another advantage is that under his analysis what he calls 'pronominal epithets' (which includes such NPs as the bum, the bastard, the poor guy, etc.) can be handled within pronominalization.

In spite of the attractiveness of Jackendoff's analysis and in spite of some problems with Chomsky's approach, we will treat pronominalization from a basically Chomskian point of view for a purely practical reason: for all its attractiveness, Jackendoff's theory is still new and not as tried as Chomsky's.

4.3 What is Pronominalizable?

From a Chomskian point of view then, pronominalization can roughly be defined as the process whereby an NP in a phrase marker is replaced by some pronominal form, provided

(i) such an NP bears a coreferential relation with some other NP in the phrase marker;

(ii) the NP does not violate those constraints (e.g. Langacker's backwards condition) with respect to the application of T in the phrase marker, where T stands for the necessary transformational rule;

(iii) the phrase marker itself is of a certain configuration (e.g. reflexivization applies in a simplex).

In answer to the above question then, we will simply say, an NP that obeys the above conditions is pronominalizable. In what follows now, we /

we will be considering concrete examples of pronominalizable NPs.

Consider the following sentences:

(28)a. Ime okot ŋwed : 'Ime is reading a book'
1 2 ʃ3 1 --2------- 3

(28)b. Ime oyom Ata okot ŋwed : 'Ime wants Ata to read a book'
1 2 3 4 ʃ5 1 2 3 --4---- 5

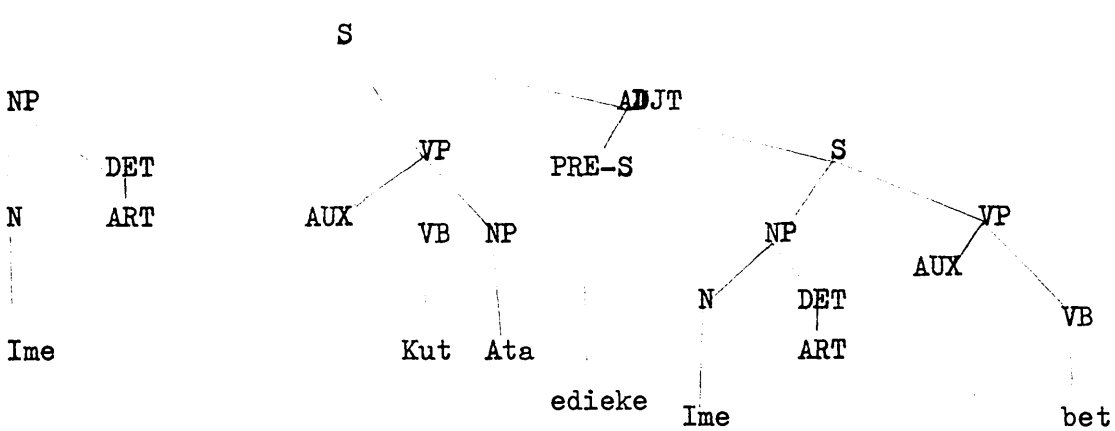
(29)a. Ime eyekut Ata edieke enye ebede : 'Ime will see Ata if he waits'
1 2 3 4 5 6

(29)b. Ime okut ŋwed esie : 'Ime has seen his book'
1 2 ʃ3 4 1 ---2---- 4 3

(29)c. Ime otuk idem esie : 'Ime has cheated himself'
1 2 3 4 1 ---2------- --3,4--

In (28) none of the NPs - Ime, ŋwed, Ata - can be pronominalized since there is no proper analysis for pronominalization. There are no co-referential NPs, for example, and that in itself automatically disqualifies (28) as proper analyses for pronominalization, though there may be cases where there are proper analyses but pronominalization need not apply. In that case, pronominalization would be optional.

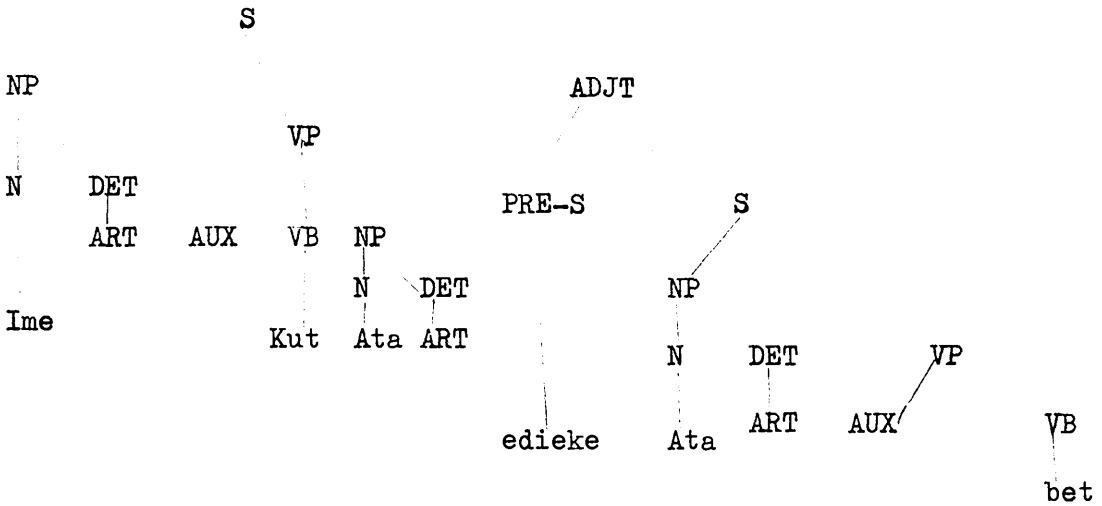
In (29), however, pronominalization does take place. (29a) requires simple pronominalization (we will define this term in a later Chapter), (29b) possessive pronominalization and (29c) reflexivization. Let us try to derive the three sentences in (29). In doing this we will avoid details which are not relevant to pronominalization. Let us begin with (29a) which is ambiguous. In one interpretation (29a) is derived from the base structure in 30a.



30a.

If /

If the two occurrences of Ime are coreferential, then this would be a simple case of simple pronominalization, which as far as is known, applies in complex phrase markers. The subject of the matrix clause will be used to pronominalize the subject of the embedded or adjunct clause thus generating (29a). In another interpretation of (29a), it would be derived from the base structure in 30b.



30b.

Like 30a, 30b is a proper analysis for pronominalization if the two occurrences of Ata are coreferential and when this rule applies (29a) is also generated. However, while pronominalization is optional in 30b, this is apparently not the case in 30a, for while (31b) is un-:questionably grammatical, (31a) is questionable. In fact, one way of disambiguating (29a) is to substitute Ata for enye:

(31)a. ?Ime eyekut Ata ekieke Ime ebetde:'Ime will see Ata if Ime waits'

(31)b. Ime eyekut Ata edieke Ata ebetde: 'Ime will see Ata if Ata waits'

Observe that this is true of other kinds of complex sentences, as the following examples show:

(32)a. ??Okon ama ebine Ata man Okon awam enye
1 2 3 4 5 6 7

'Okon joined Ata so that Okon might help him'
1 2 3 4 5 6 7

(32)b. /

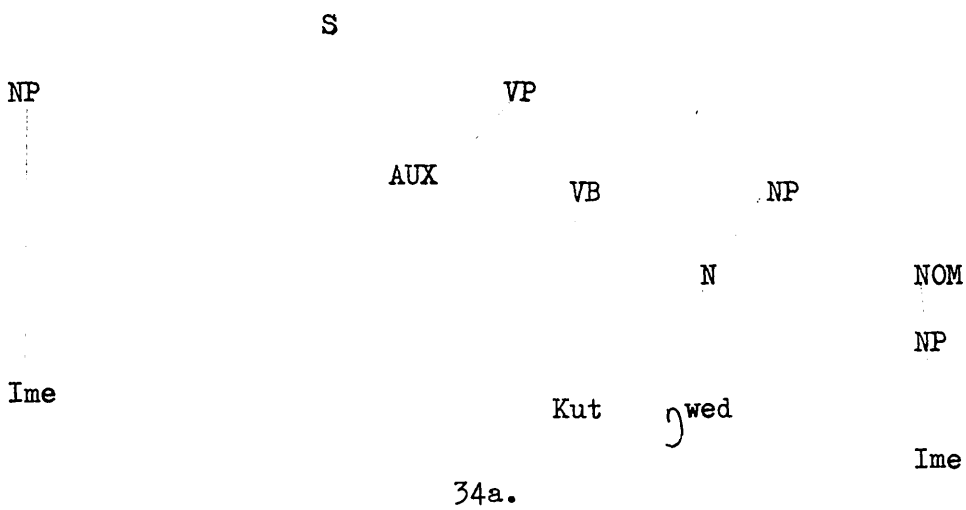
(32)b. Okon ama ebine Ata man Ata anwam enye :'Okon joined Ata so that Ata might help him'

(33)a. ?Okposuk edi Ata amade Ima, Ata ididɔhɔ enye
'Although Ata loves Ima, Ata will not marry her'

(33)b. Okposuk edi Ata amade Ima, Ima ididɔhɔ enye
'Although Ata loves Ima, Ima will not marry him'

Note that in (31a), (32a) and (33a) where pronominalization appears obligatory, the two coreferential NPs in each case are subjects in their own S's. In (31b), (32b) and (33b), however, the pronominalizable NPs are subjects of their own S's but their antecedents are objects in their own S's. In a later Chapter we will show that the notions of subject and object are relevant to simple pronominalization.

(29b), which involves possessive pronominalization, is derived from the following base structure, 34a.



34a.

Possessive pronominalization applies to a structure such as 34a if

(i) there are two coreferent NPs, as the two occurrences of Ime in 34a;

(ii) the NP to be pronominalized is immediately preceded by an N and is dominated by an NP that must not be the subject of the sentence

Condition (ii) in particular would block the generation of such strings as the following:

(34)b. /

(34)b. *Eyen esie ama oyom Okon : 'His son wanted Okon'
1 2 ---3---- 4 2 1 3 4

(34)c. *Ufan mmɔ imaha Okon ye Effiong:'Their friends don't like Okon
1 2 3 4 5 6 2 1 -----3---- 4
and Effiong'
5 6

where esie and mmɔ refer to Okon and Okon ye Effiong, respectively.

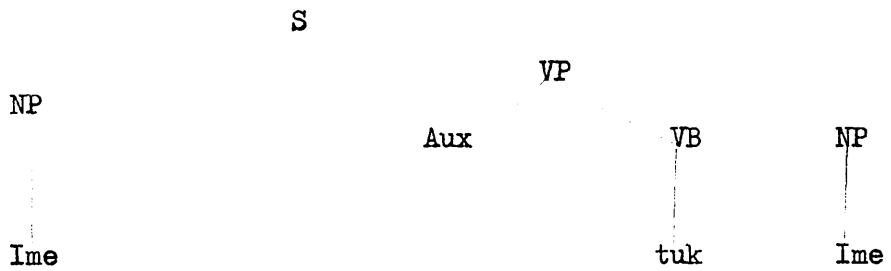
However, sentences such as (35) will be generated:

(35)a. Mbubehe Ata edi mbubehe esie :'Ata's business is his business'
1 2 3 4 5 2 1 3 5 4

(35)b. Effiong ewet ɲwed aba a ete esie:'Effiong has written a book about
1 2 3 4 5 6 1 ---2------- 3 4
his father'
6 5

A more detailed discussion on possessive pronominalization will be given in a later Chapter.

(29c) is a straightforward case of reflexivization, where, as the under-:lying structure in 36 shows, the subject of a simplex is used to reflexivize the object under coreference.



36.

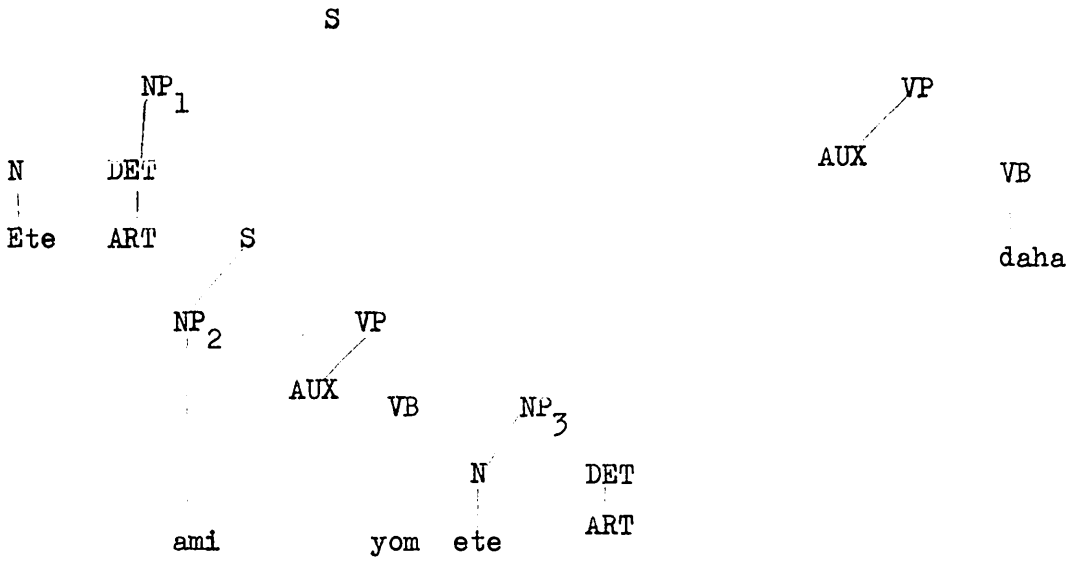
and thereby generating (29c).

As an example of pronominalization involving relativization, let us consider the following sentence:

(37)a. Ete emi nnyɔmde adaha: 'The man I am looking for has left'
1 2 3 4 1 ----3------- ---4----

Underlying /

Underlying (37a) is 37b:



37b.

Leaving details until we come to the chapter on relativization itself, relativization will apply in 37b, if NP_1 and NP_3 are coreferential, generating (37c).

(37)c. Ete ART emi ami AUX yom AUX daha:'Man ART who I AUX look AUX leave'

For details of the operations in relativization, see the Summary of Rules in the Appendix. To generate (37a) from (37c) ART and ami are optionally deleted (ignoring the AUX rules).

So far it appears only NPs are pronominalizable. But consider the locative pronouns mi (here) and do (there) in the following examples:

(38)a. Bassey eyekut utom ke obio emi edieke enye ebetde mi
1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9

'Bassey will find a job in this town if he waits here'
1 2 3 5 4 6 7 8 9

(38)b. Bassey eyetie ke Uyo edieke enye okutde utom do
1 2 3

'Bassey will stay at Uyo if he finds a job there'
1 2

where mi and do appear to replace ke obio emi and ke Uyo respectively. Even in (39a) do appears to replace ke ebiet oro as (39b) indicates:

(39)a. Edieke Bassey amade ebiet oro, enye eyetie do
1 2 3

'If Bassey likes that place, he will stay there'
1 3 2

(39)b. /

(39)b. Edieke Bassey amade ebiet oro, enye eyetie ke ebiet oro

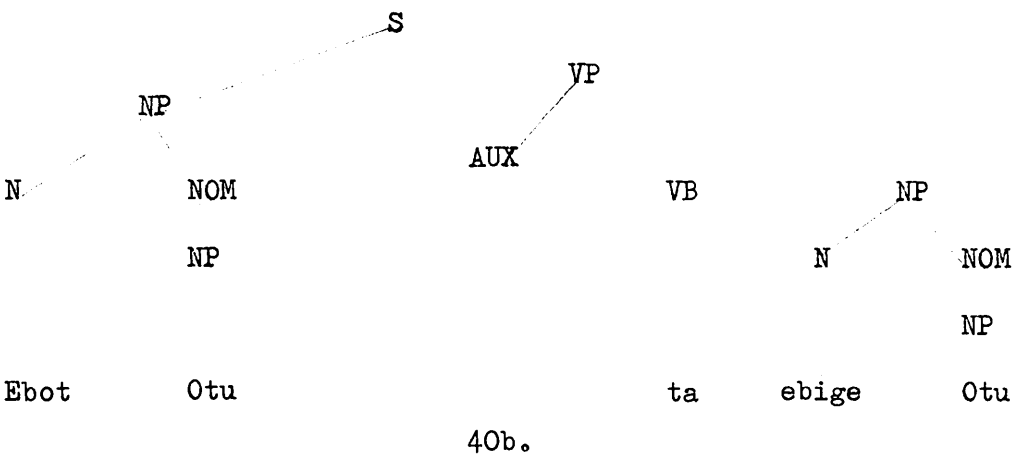
'If Bassey likes that place, he will stay in that place'

However, as we will show in Chapter Six (6.5), mi and do in fact replace the NP, rather than the entire prepositional phrase.

Finally in this chapter let us consider a case where pronominalization must not apply, even though there is a proper analysis for pronominali-:zation (we have already seen cases where it may not apply):

(40)a. Ebot Otu ata ebige Otu : 'Otu's goat has eaten Otu's yam'
1 2 3 4 5 2 1 ---3----- 5 4

If 40b underlies (40a), as it does indeed, then possessive pronominali-:zation should apply to derive (40c).



40b.

(40)c. Ebot Otu ata ebige esie : 'Otu's goat has eaten his yam'
1 2 3 4 5 2 1 ---3----- 5 4

But (40a) and (40c) are not semantically equivalent. The fact is (40a) is an idiom and means 'It serves Otu right'. As idioms are problems, we would not like to pursue the matter further. So except for idioms, we would like to say that when there is a proper analysis, pronominalization is either optional or obligatory. As we will see, reflexivization, relativization and possessive pronominalization are obligatory. Simple pronominalization may be either obligatory or optional, as we have already shown above.

4.4 Pronominalization and Definitization:

Postal (1966) assumes that the definite character of pronouns (analysed as definite articles) makes it necessary for the definitization rule to be ordered after pronominalization. He says:

> "Similarly, DEFINITIZATION involves specifying a noun stem as [+Definite] (and generally but not always [-Demonstrative] as well) subject to certain conditions including previous transformational specification of [+Pro]".

However, as far as Efik is concerned pronominalization should be ordered after definitization, for the following reasons:

First, as we have already pointed out, pronominalization requires that there be two coreferential NPs, among other conditions. In other words, there has to be an antecedent NP to which the NP to be pronominalized must anaphorically refer. That in itself implies that the anaphoric NP is definite. Therefore, contrary to Postal's claim that the feature [+Anaphoric] be introduced as a result of pronominalization, the feature should in fact be there as one of the conditions prior to the application of pronominalization. This follows naturally from the fact that only an NP which is coreferential with another NP in the same phrase marker can be pronominalized.

Second, there is concrete evidence to show that at the point of pro-:nominalization, an NP must be definite. Consider (41) and (42):

(41)a. Mma ŋkut owo edi ndiɔŋɔke me owo oro ama okut mi
---1---- 2 3 4 5 6 7 ---8---- 9

'I saw a man but I don't know whether the man saw me'
-1--- 2 3 -----4------ 5 7 6 8 9

(41)b. Mma ŋkut owo edi ndiɔŋɔke me enye ama okut mi
'I saw a man but I don't know whether he saw me'

(42)a. Ata ama otop unam edi unam oro ikekpaha
1 ---2---- 3 4 5 6 7

'Ata shot an animal but the animal did not die'
1 2 3 4 6 5 ---7-------

(42)b/

(42)b. Ata ama otop unam edi enye ikekpaha

'Ata shot an animal but it didn't die'

In both (41) and (42), enye has replaced a definite NP, owo oro in (41) and unam oro in (42). Now consider (43):

(43)a. Mma ŋkut owo edi ndiɔŋɔ ke me owo okut mi

'I saw a man but I don't know whether a man saw me'

(43)b. *Ata ama otop unam edi unam ikpaha

'Ata shot an animal but an animal did not die'

where (43a) corresponds to (41a) and (43b) corresponds to (42a). Now (43b) is ungrammatical because the second occurrence of unam, which is supposed to refer to the first one is indefinite - the same NP is definite in (42a) hence the grammaticality of that sentence. However, (43a) appears grammatical because the second occurrence of owo, which is indefinite does not refer to the first occurrence of owo. In other words, the second instance of owo in (43a) must be interpreted as a man rather than the man. If, however, the two instances of owo in that sentence are supposed to be coreferential, then (43a) would be ungrammatical. It seems clear therefore that at the point of pronominalization, the NP for pronominalization must be definite. Consider other examples:

(44)a. Mma ŋkut Okon edi ndisime oro ikediɔŋɔ ke mi
1 2 3 4 5 6 7

'I saw Okon but the fool didn't recognise me'
1 2 3 5 4 6 7

(44)b. Kot Ata okposuk edi ifu oro mididihe
1 2 3 4 5 6

'Invite Ata, although the lazy one will not come'
1 2 3 5 4 6

Observe that ndisime oro and ifu oro which refer to Okon and Ata respectively are definite. Observe also that both ndisime oro and ifu oro are pronominalizable, or at least can be replaced by pronouns, as (45) indicate:

(45)a. /

(45)a. Mma ŋkut Okon edi enye ikediɔŋɔke mi
'I saw Okon but he didn't recognise me'

(45)b. Kot Ata okposuk edi enye mididihe
'Invite Ata although he will not come'

There is some problem with the application of pronominalization in (44) to derive (45), namely there is a difference in meaning between (44) and (45): that affective implication of ndisime oro and ifu oro is neutralized, as it were, in enye, as a result of pronominalization. However, this is a different kind of problem and does not affect our claim that pronominali-:zation is preceded by definitization. Another different kind of problem is that under the Chomskian analysis, pronominalization would probably be impossible in (44) since Okon and ndisime oro are not lexically identical, nor are Ata and ifu oro. Maybe this is just as well, in view of the semantic differences between (44) and (45). Perhaps it is the case that pronominalization must not take place in (44) (cf.6.1.4).

In the case of proper NPs, the definitization rule might not be necessary since such NPs are inherently definite, It should be obvious by now that the definite character of pronouns arises not from the application of pronominalization as such but from the requirement that only definite coreferent NPs can be pronominalized by their antecedents.

CHAPTER FIVE

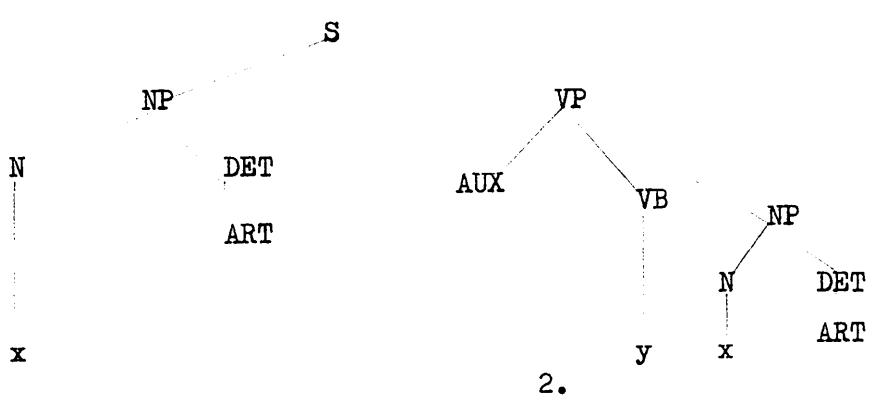
REFLEXIVIZATION

5.0 Introduction:

To facilitate our investigation into the reflexivization process, we will be examining it in simple sentence, complex sentence and conjoined or co-ordinate sentence structures. Among other things we will attempt to answer such questions as whether reflexivization applies only in a simplex, whether the reflexive forms connected with the so-called picture nouns are in fact reflexive pronouns and whether such forms as ke idem esie in (1). Bassey ke idem esie edika : 'Bassey himself will go'
1 2 1 2
also involve reflexive pronouns.

5.1 Reflexivization in Simple Structures:

A simple structure is a structure with no embedded S node, such as the structure in 2 below:



2.

where x and y represent lexical items.

We will frequently refer to such a structure as a simple phrase marker or simplex. Such structures could of course be dominated by other S nodes. In that case they may be referred to either as complex structures or conjoined structures, as the case may be. Complex and conjoined structures will be defined in their appropriate sections.

As /

As we have already said, reflexivization is an example of pronominali-:zation. In Efik, reflexivization is the rule involved in the derivation of idem + what are traditionally called possessive adjectives in such sentences as (3):

(3)a. Arit ekere idem (esie) : 'Arit is thinking of herself'
1 2 3 --1-------- 3 2

(3)b. Iban oro enam idem (mmɔ) : 'The women are harming themselves'
1 2 3 4 5 2 1 ---3------- 5 4

(3)c. Afo ekere idem (fo) : 'You are thinking of yourself'
1 2 3 4 1 ---2-------- 4 3

(3)d. Mbufo ekere idem (mbufo) : 'You are thinking of yourselves'
1 2 3 4 1 ---2-------- 4 3

(3)e. Ami nnam idem (mmi) : 'I am harming myself'
1 2 3 4 1 --2------- 4 3

(3)f. Nnyin inam idem (nnyin) : 'We are harming ourselves'
1 2 3 4 1 ---2------- 4 3

Observe that the so-called possessive adjectives, which we will henceforth refer to as Possessive Determiner (PD) for convenience, is optional, unlike the situation in a language like English. Like all forms of pronominali-:zation, reflexivization requires coreference between two NPs. But in the case of reflexivization, this coreference must be within a simplex, as was first pointed out by Lees and Klima (1963). In addition, the reflexivized NP must be dominated by the VP as the object (or one of the objects) including NPs which are constituents of Comp-Phrases. 'Domination by the VP' is necessary so as to exclude NPs in the Adjunct from being reflexivized, as in the following examples:

(4)a. *Ata ama ebre mbre ke idem esie: 'Ata past morpheme play play on himself'
1 2 3 4 5 6 ----1-------- 2 3 4 6 5

(4)b. *Ami mma nde ke idem mmi : 'I past morph. sleep on myself'
1 2 3 4 5 6 1 ----2----- 3 4 6 5

However, (5) would appear to be a counter example:

(5) Ami nnyenam utom ke idem mmi : 'I will work on my body' (e.g. massage it)

However, idem mmi in (5) is not a reflexive pronoun but a lexical item idem (body) + a NOM NP (cf.3.3.1). Thus it is possible to have (6a) but not /

not (6b):

(6)a. Ami nnyenam utom ke idem mmi emi: 'I will work on this body of mine'
1 2 3 4 5 6 7 1 ----2---- 4 7 5 6

(6)b. *Ami nnyenam idem mmi emi : 'I will harm this myself'

because reflexive pronouns (and anaphoric pronouns in general) do not allow nominal modifiers. That is idem in (6a) occurs in the base as a lexical item but idem in (6b) is transformationally derived (along with mmi) as a result of reflexivization. The analysis of idem in (6a) as a lexical item explains the occurrence of idem in the following sentences:

(7)a. Ata anam utom ke idem mi : 'Ata is working on my body'

(7)b. Ami nnam utom ke idem esie : 'I am working on his body'

(7)c. Ami nnam utom ke idem Ata : 'I am working on Ata's body'

We return to the use of idem as a lexical item in 5.1.2. below.

It has been said above that NPs which are constituents of Comp-Phrases within the VP are reflexivizable. However, it is not all Comp-Phrase NPs within the VP that can be reflexivized. For example, those NPs in the instrumental case are not reflexivizable, since NPs in this case in general require human or at least animate, if non-human subjects, as in the following examples (case here and elsewhere in this Chapter should be understood in the sense in which it is used by Fillmore(1968))

(8)a. Mbio Japan edia udia ke eto udia: 'The Japanese eat with chop sticks'
1 2 3 4 5 6 7 ---1,2------ 3 5 7 6

(8)b. Enan kiet ama amia ata-utop oro ye isim esie
1) 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9

'A cow past morph hit the hunter with its tail'
2 1 ----3----- 4 6 5 7 9 8

As NPs in the instrumental case are characteristically [-Animate], in contrast with the subject NPs, like those in (8), which are characteristically animate at least, then the coreferential condition cannot be satisfied. Consequently, reflexivization cannot take place. However, (9) seems to be a counter example to the claim that instrumental NPs are /

are not reflexivizable.

(9). Eto oro ɔkɔduɔ ke idem esie : 'The tree fell by itself'
1 2 3 4 5 6 2 1 3 4 6 5

However, as we will argue later, forms like ke idem esie (by itself) are not in fact reflexive pronouns but intensifiers. (9) therefore does not constitute a counter example.

Similarly, it seems that an NP in the comitative case cannot be reflexi-:vized since this kind of NP cannot be coreferential with the subject, which has to be different from the comitative NP, if the sentence is to make sense. Consider (10):

(10) Okon akasaŋa ye Effiong : 'Okon went with Effiong'
1 2 1 2

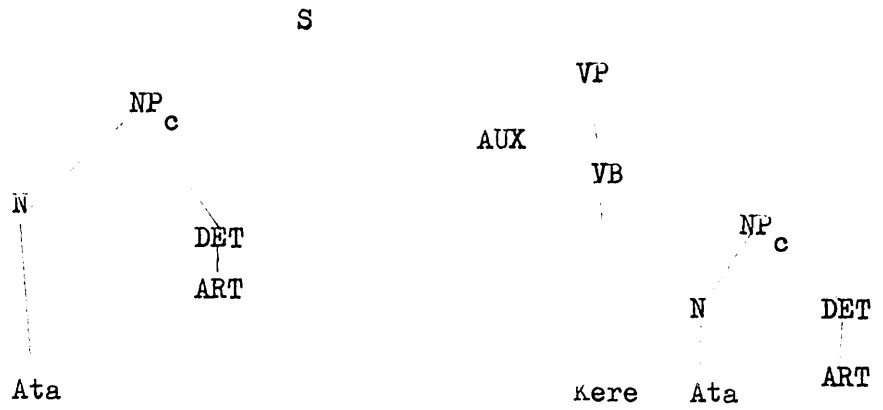
Of course (11) makes no sense (except perhaps in some McCawlian (1968) world):

(11) *Okon akasaŋa ye idem esie : 'Okon went with himself'

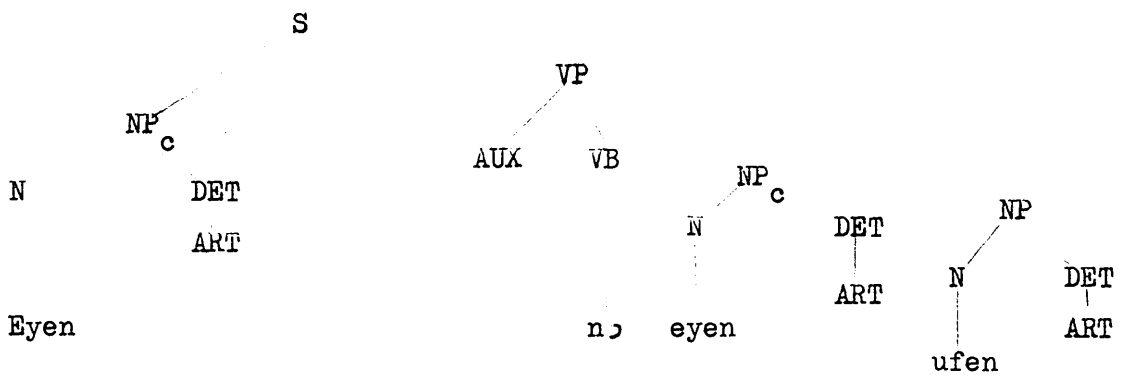
Since the agent cannot occur in the object position in Efik - there is no passivization for example in the language - the NPs which can then be reflexivized include both NPs dominated by VP (i.e. 'Direct' and 'Indirect' objects) and certain NPs dominated by Comp-Phrase within the VP (e.g. (13c) and (16)). But other NPs dominated by Comp-Phrase cannot be reflexivized (e.g. (11)). There is no adequate machinery within the Aspects model to cope with this problem. A solution may be possible within a form of 'case grammar' (cf. Fillmore 1968), as has been suggested in the discussion above, and this is a subject for further investi-:gation.

In retrospect, we will say that reflexivization in Efik is defined over configurations /

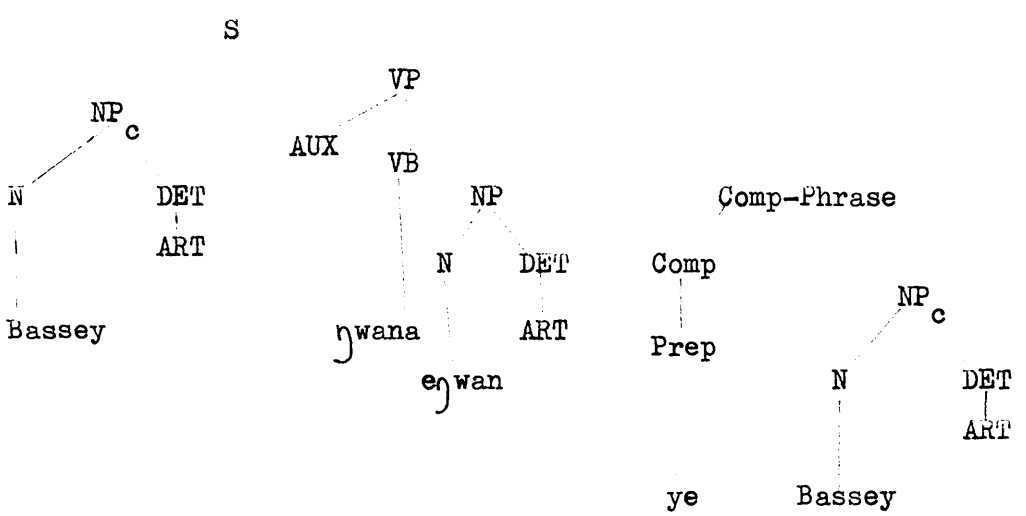
configurations such as 12a, 12b and 12c



12a.



12b.



12c.

12a, 12b and 12c underlie surface sentences of the following sorts, respectively:

(13)a. Ata ekere idem esie : 'Ata is thinking of himself'
1 2 3 1 3 2

(13)b. /

(13)b. Eyen oro ɔŋɔ idem esie ufen :'The boy is giving himself punishment'
1 2 3 4 5 6 2 1 3 5 4 6

(13)c. Bassey aŋwana eɔwan ye idem esie: 'Bassey is fighting with himself'
1 2 3 4 5 1 3 5 4

Given the structures 12a, 12b and 12c reflexivization applies on condition that

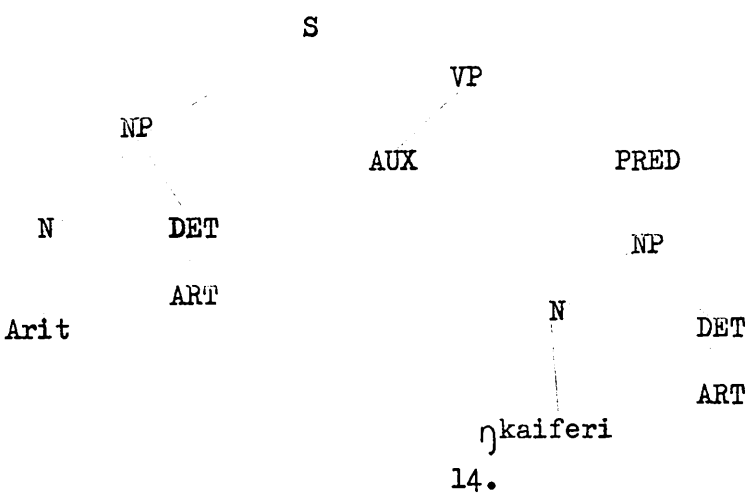
(i) S is a simplex;

(ii) The NP immediately dominated by the S node is coreferential with another NP which is either immediately dominated by the VP or by a Comp-Phrase which is itself a constituent of the VP;

(iii) None of the coreferent NPs is dominated by Pred.

Condition (ii) will block the reflexivization of Adjunct NPs. However, it is not entirely satisfactory since it does not disallow a string like (11) (cf.the discussion above).

Condition (iii) blocks the reflexivization of Pred NPs, such as ŋkaiferi in 14 below:



14.

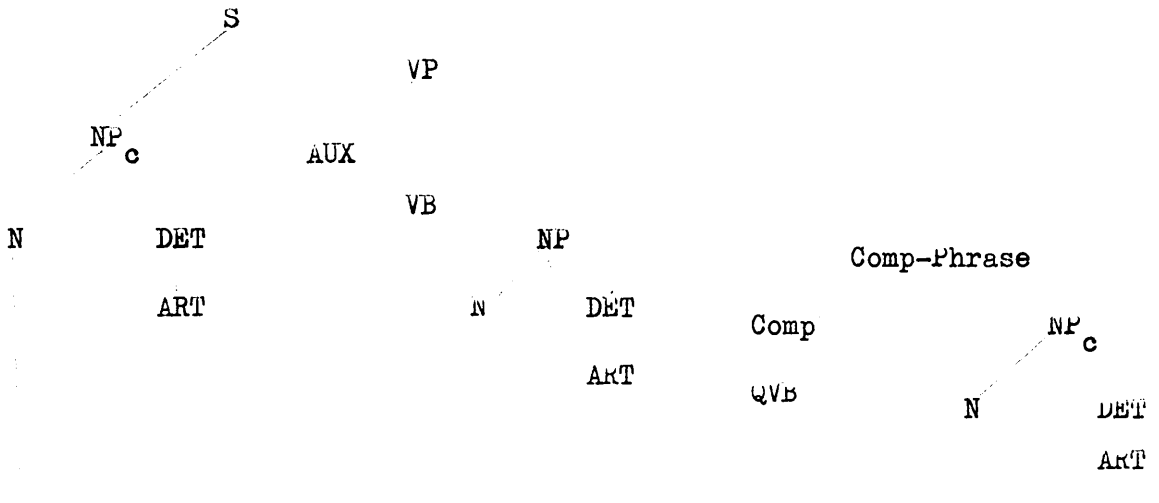
14, which underlies a surface sentence like (15):

(15) Arit edi ŋkaiferi : 'Arit is a girl'
1 2 1 2

only partially fulfils the condition for reflexivization: there is a simplex and two NPs - Arit and ŋkaiferi - appear to be coreferential. On the other hand, a sentence like (16) is generated from 17 by reflexivization /

reflexivization, among other rules of course:

(16) Ime eyewet ŋwed abaŋa idem esie:'Ime will write a book about himself'
1 2 3 1 2 3



17.

Thus reflexivization provides independent motivation for our analysis in Chapter Two (cf.2.10) of QVBs (Quasi-Verbals) as part of the VP. However, by the criterion given in 2.10, (18a) is derived from an underlying conjoined structure since it can be paraphrased as (18b):

(18)a. Nnyin iyedep ŋkpɔ inɔ idem nnyin:'We will buy something for ourselves'

(18)b. Nnyin iyedep ŋkpɔ inyuŋ inɔ idem nnyin : 'We will buy something for
1 2 3 4 5 6 7 1 ----2--- 3 4,5
ourselves'
7 6

However, no such paraphrase involving the conjoining element nyuŋ can be made of (16), as (19) below is ungrammatical:

(19) *Ime eyewet ŋwed onyuŋ abaŋa idem esie
'Ime will write a book about himself'

Observe that in (18b) reflexivization takes place in a simplex, since inɔ idem nnyin (give to ourselves) is in fact a simple sentence. (18a) is of course derived from (18b) by the deletion of the conjoining element inyuŋ. We return to the deletion of nyuŋ in conjoined sentences in 5.3.5.

5.1.1 /

5.1.1 The Reflexive Rule (first approximation):

We have seen the kinds of phrase markers in which reflexivization applies and the conditions that govern its application in such phrase markers. Let us now consider how the rule actually applies. Let us assume that X N ART AUX N ART $\begin{Bmatrix}\text{Prep}\\ \text{QVB}\end{Bmatrix}$ N ART Y is analysable as a simplex. Then the reflexive rule can be formulated as follows:

S.D. X $\underset{NP}{[N}$ $\underset{NP}{ART]}$ AUX VB $\left(\underset{NP}{[N}\ \underset{NP}{ART]}\right)$ $\left(\begin{Bmatrix}\text{Prep}\\ \text{QVB}\end{Bmatrix}\right)$ $\underset{NP}{[N}$ $\underset{NP}{ART]}$ Y

1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9 10 11 S

Conditions:

(a) 2 & 3 are coreferential either with 6 & 7 or with 9 & 10;

(b) both 6 & 7 and 9 & 10 are constituents of a VP which does not dominate a Pred;

(c) 1 - 11 is a simplex.

S.C. (a) Operations:

If 6 or 9 is [-Pro], change this feature to [+Pro] and introduce the feature [+Refl] (reflexive). Then copy these features as well as those of Number and Person onto 7 or 10, as the case may be. If there are NP constituents other than N and Art, delete them.

(b) Output:

Either 1 2 3 4 5 $\begin{bmatrix}+\text{Pro}\\ +\text{Refl}\\ \alpha\text{No}\\ \beta\text{Per}\end{bmatrix}$ $\begin{bmatrix}+\text{Pro}\\ +\text{Refl}\\ \alpha\text{No}\\ \beta\text{Per}\end{bmatrix}$ 8 9 10 11

Or 1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 $\begin{bmatrix}+\text{Pro}\\ +\text{Refl}\\ \alpha\text{No}\\ \beta\text{Per}\end{bmatrix}$ $\begin{bmatrix}+\text{Pro}\\ +\text{Refl}\\ \alpha\text{No}\\ \beta\text{Per}\end{bmatrix}$ 11

Later the N, which is the noun stem, following Postal (1966), is realised as *idem* and the ART as *mi*, *fo*, *esie*, *nnyin*, *mbufo* or *mm*), as the case may be /

be.

The above rule will generate sentences of the following kind:

(20)a. Ata ama idem esie : 'Ata loves himself'

(20)b. Mbufo eŋwana ye idem mbufo:'You are fighting with yourselves'

(20)c. Ami nnyewet mbuk mbaŋa idem mmi:'I will write a story about myself'

(20)d. Ndit͡ɔ oro ekesin idem mm͡ɔ ŋwed:'Those children put themselves through school'

At the same time strings like the following will not be allowed:

(21)a. *Bassey ama mi nnyaŋa idem esie: 'Bassey likes me to help himself'

(21)b. *Bassey edi idem esie : 'Bassey is himself'.

It was shown in 5.1 above that the PD of the reflexive pronoun is optional. In that case the PD can be optionally deleted, after the application of the reflexive rule. Thus in (20), if the PDs are deleted, then (22) below will be generated:

(22)a. Ata ama idem : 'Ata loves himself'

(22)b. Mbufo eŋwana ye idem : 'You are fighting with yourselves'

(22)c. Ami nnyewet mbuk mbaŋa idem :'I will write a story about myself'

(22)d. Ndit͡ɔ oro ekesin idem ŋwed:'Those children put themselves through school'

Details of the rule that deletes the PD can be found in the Appendix.

5.1.2 Pseudo Reflexives:

There are several forms in Efik that look like but are not reflexive pronouns. An element will be regarded as a reflexive pronoun only if it is derived as a result of reflexivization. Such an element, as we have already seen, is of the form idem + PD, where the PD is optional. In that case in (23), (23b) is not only grammatical, but also a paraphrase of (23a), just as (20) and (22) above are paraphrases:

(23)a. /

(23)a. Bassey ekere idem esie kpupkru ini:'Bassey thinks of himself all the time'

(23)b. Bassey ekere idem kpukpru ini:'Bassey thinks of himself all the time'
1 2 3 1 2 3

In addition, the PD of the reflexive pronoun must agree in number and person with the subject of the reflexive sentence, hence the sentences in (3) above, for example. Observe that the Reflexive Rule ensures this. We will now consider pseudo-reflexives in the light of the form and behaviour of the true reflexive pronouns. First, consider (24):

(24)a. ɔsɔŋ mi idem akaha : 'It is very difficult for me'
1 2 3 4 4 1 2

(24)b. Akpa enye idem : 'It is surprising to him'
1 2 3 1 2

(24)c. ɔdiɔk fi idem : 'It is bad for you'
1 2 3 1 2

Clearly, mi idem, enye idem, fi idem cannot be regarded as reflexive pronouns. To begin with, the form of the reflexive is idem + PD and not NP + idem, since as the diagram 27 shows, mi, fi, enye are in fact NPs. Secondly, unlike the idem of the reflexive pronoun, idem in (24) does not allow a PD, as (25) shows:

(25)a. *ɔsɔŋ mi idem mmi : 'It is difficult for myself'

(25)b. *Akpa enye idem esie : 'It is surprising to himself'

(25)c. *ɔdiɔk fi idem fo : 'It is bad for you'.

It could be argued that NP + idem in (24) is probably derived from idem + PD by a transformation. Taking a concrete example, mi idem in (24a) could be said to be derived from idem mmi by some kind of permutation rule. However, it is known that the sentences in (24) are in fact derived from those in (26) below:

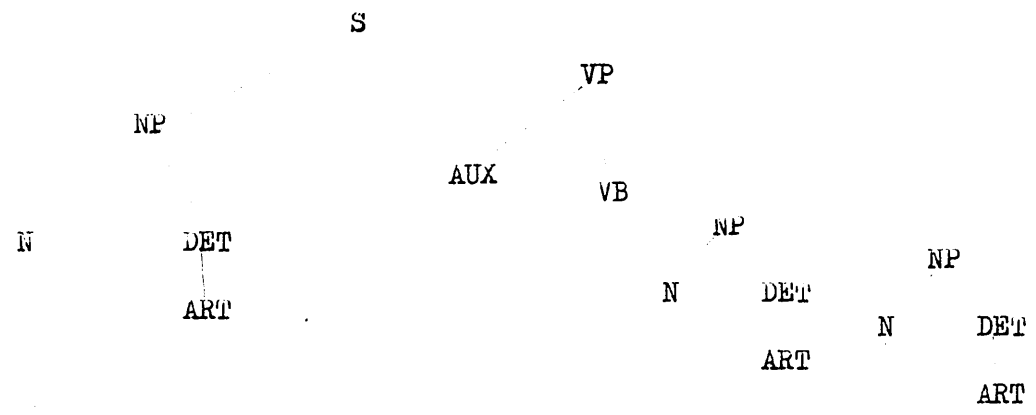
(26)a. ŋkpɔ oro ɔsɔŋ mi idem akaha:'The thing/it is very difficult for me'
1 2 3 4 5 6 2 1 6 3 4

(26)b. ŋkpɔ oro akpa enye idem :'The thing/it is surprising to him'

(26)c. ŋkpɔ oro ɔdiɔk fi idem : 'The thing/it is bad for you'

As /

As the three sentences in (26) are similarly structured, let us take (26b) for consideration. This sentence is structured as 27 below:



27.

Although 27 is a simplex, there is no coreference between the subject and any of the NPs dominated by the VP. 27 does not therefore qualify as a proper analysis for reflexivization. Mi idem, enye idem and fi idem cannot therefore be considered as reflexive pronouns or their variants. Observe that (28) are perfectly grammatical:

(28)a. ɔsɔŋ Ata idem akaha : 'It is very difficult for Ata'

(28)b. Akpa mma oro idem : 'It is surprising to the lady'
1 1

(28)c. ɔdiɔk ndiɔ oro idem : 'It is bad for the children'

So as the phrase marker 27 shows, idem in (24) or (26) is a lexical item which occurs in the base. In fact kpa - idem, sɔŋ - idem and diɔk - idem are fixed phrases or idioms which require human, or at least animate, NPs between the verbs and idem as (24), (26) and (28) show. Ordinarily kpa means die, sɔŋ be old or strong and diɔk be bad. Idem of course means body. But a combination of each of these verbs with idem produces the special meaning we have seen in (24), (26) and (28). We are not concerned with the analysis of these 'psychological' verbs as such but it is quite clear that idem in the above examples - (24), (26), (28) - is not a reflexive /

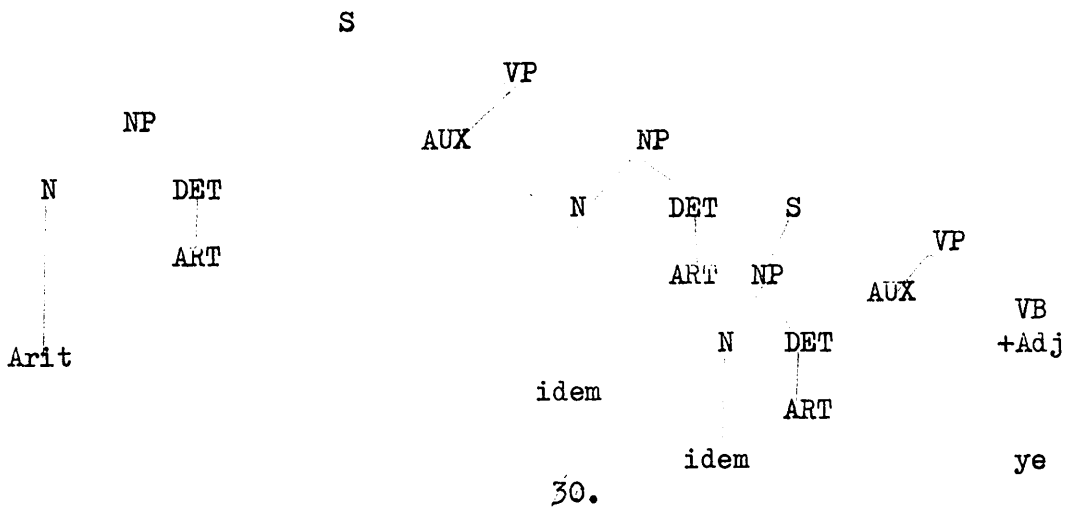
reflexive pronoun.

Similarly, idem in (29) is not a reflexive pronoun or part of a reflexive pronoun:

(29)a. Etim okpon idem eti eti : 'Etim is very big in the body'
1 2 ---3--- 3 1 2

(29)b. Arit eye idem : 'Arit is pretty in the body'
1 1

Clearly idem in (29) is not a reflexive pronoun as 30, which underlies (29b), shows:



30.

Justification for deriving (29b) from 30 is that the former can be para-:phrased as (31)a:

(31)a. Arit enyene idem emi eyede : 'Arit has a body which is pretty'

Similarly (29a) can be paraphrased as (31b):

(31)b. Etim enyene idem emi okponde eti eti:'Etim has a body which is big'

As 30 shows, idem in (29) is a lexical item and as a lexical item, it means the physical body as a whole or just the trunk of the body, i.e. that part of the body between the arms and the legs. So against idem in (29) we could have ubɔk udom (right hand) and ukot (leg), for example, as in (32):

(32)a. Etim okpon ubɔk udom eti eti :'Etim has a very big right hand'

(32)b. Arit eye ukot : 'Arit has nice legs'

Like (29), (33) below have no reflexives:

(33)a. /

(33)a. Arit eyet eyen idem : 'Arit has washed the baby's body'
1 2 3 1 2 3

(33)b. Nnyin imeyet mmɔ idem : 'We have washed their bodies'
1 2 3 1 2 3

because idem is merely a part of the body and occurs in the base, just like iso (face) and ubɔk (hands), for example, in (34):

(34)a. Arit eyet eyen iso : 'Arit has washed the baby's face'

(34)b. Nnyin imeyet mmɔ ubɔk : 'We have washed their hands'

We will return to yet (wash) in 5.1.4 below. Observe that idem in fact belongs to eyen or mmɔ in (33) and not to the subjects Arit and nnyin. Accordingly, (33) are paraphrasable as (35) below:

(35)a. Arit eyet idem eyen : 'Arit has washed the baby's body'

(35)b. Nnyin imeyet idem mmɔ : 'We have washed their bodies'

Similarly, idem in (36) must be regarded as a lexical item meaning body:

(36)a. Idem abiak Bassey akaha : 'Bassey is very sick in the body'
1 2 3 3 2 1

(36)b. Idem emem iban oro akaha : 'The women are very weak in the body'
1 2 3 3 2 1

Clearly, idem cannot be construed as a reflexive in (36) since here it acts as the subject of the sentences. Under our analysis, the reflexive pronoun must be the object or otherwise constituent of the VP.

Finally, idem in (37) is not a reflexive pronoun:

(37)a. Enye efehe idem ŋkaŋa:'He is running without anything(i.e. empty handed)

(37)b. Mmɔ ekesaŋa idem ŋkaŋa:'They were walking without anything' (i.e. empty handed)

because it is not derived transformationally as a result of the reflexive rule. If such a rule were to apply, then (38), which are ungrammatical, would be generated:

(38)a. *Enye efehe idem esie ŋkaŋa:'He is running himself without anything'

(38)b. *Mmɔ ekesaŋa idem mmɔ ŋkaŋa:'They were walking themselves without anything'

The /

The ungrammaticality of (38) can be attributed to the fact that fehe (run) and saŋa (walk) in the sense in which they are used in (37) must be intransitive. Yet as we have seen above, the reflexive pronoun occurs as the object of the reflexive sentence under one kind of domination by the VP or another. In fact, idem in (37) is an optional element in the adverb phrase idem ŋkaŋa. In other words, (37) can be paraphrased as (39) below:

(39)a. Enye efehe ŋkaŋa : 'He is running without anything'

(39)b. Mmɔ ekesaŋa ŋkaŋa : 'They were walking without anything'

5.1.3 Verbals and Reflexivization:

It should be clear by now that reflexivization is not just a matter between two NPs but that the VP and its constituents are also affected. For example, we have already shown that reflexivizable NPs are dominated by the VP directly or otherwise (as in the case of Comp-Phrase NPs).

In this section, we wish to consider some verbals for which reflexivization is obligatory. That is there exist a number of verbs whose subjects and objects must be coreferential, if the sentences in which they occur are to make sense. For most other verbals, this is not the case: reflexi-:vization is not obligatory just in order that the sentences in which they occur may make sense. Thus with a verbal like ma (love), we may have sentences like (40a), which is a reflexive sentence, or others like (40b), which is not a reflexive sentence:

(40)a. Ata ama idem esie : 'Ata loves himself'

(40)b. Ata ama mma oro : 'Ata loves the lady'
$\quad\quad\quad

only (41) are possible:

(41)a. Ata ataŋ idem eti eti : 'Ata is very arrogant'
1 1

(41)b. Ndit ɔ oro ebu ɔ t idem mm ɔ ye afo : 'Those children believe in you'
1 2 3 4 5 6 7 2 1 3 6 7

(41)c. Arit afat idem esie eti eti :'Arit is very careful with herself'
1 2 3 1 3 2

but not (42):

(42)a. *Ata ataŋ eyen oro : 'Ata is very arrogant that boy/girl'

(42)b. *Ndit ɔ oro ebu ɔ t iban oro ye afo:'Those children believe the women
1 2 2 1
in you'

So for such verbals as taŋ idem, bu ɔ t idem and fat idem, reflexivization is obligatory if the sentences in which they occur are to make sense. Observe that the tone on the root of such verbs is characteristically low.

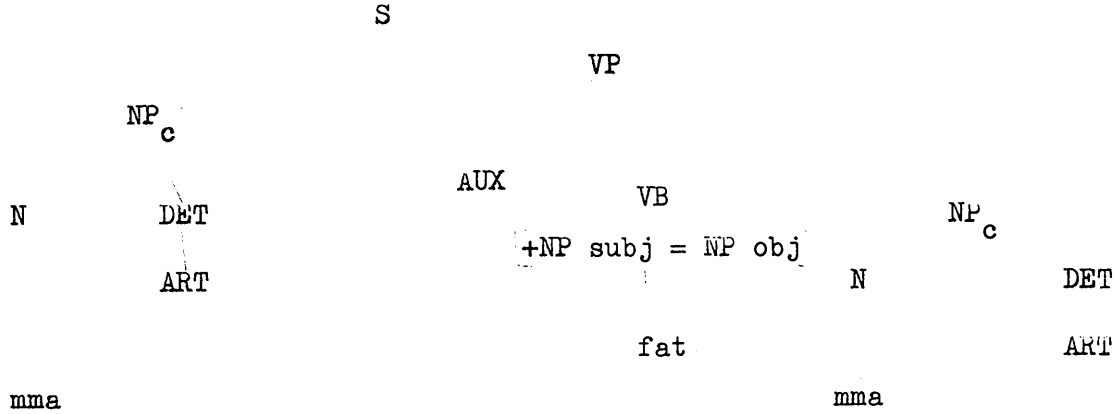
The analysis of sentences like (41) is a problem. In dealing with sent-:ences of this kind in English, Lees and Klima (1963) suggest that the verbals of such sentences be classified as 'reflexive intransitives' to distinguish them from what they call 'absolute intransitives' like vanish, arrive, etc. Reflexive intransitives, which include such verbals as pride, absent, bestir and perjure, "may not be freely followed by an object nominal". According to Lees and Klima, such verbals "undergo an obligatory transformation which inserts a replica of the subject after the verb, and this obligatory 'object' is then pronominalized in the usual way: being part of the same simplex as its subject which it repeats, and yields the appropriate reflexive pronoun" (p.55).

What Lees and Klima are in effect saying is that the subjects and objects of the so-called reflexive intransitive verbals must be identical and since this happens in a simplex, then reflexivization must occur. In one solution to this problem (cf. Emonds 1970), verbals such as taŋ idem, bu ɔ t idem and fat idem, which must take the reflexive to make sense, require /

require to be subcategorised as $NP_{subj} = NP_{object}$ (where object must be understood as direct object in Efik). In other words the above three verbals have a common property which is peculiar to them, namely, the subject and object of these verbals must be identical. Since there is no way in which this property can be predicted, we suggest that it should be marked as an idiosyncratic feature of the above verbs in the lexicon. According to Chomsky, "in general, all properties of a formative that are essentially idiosyncratic will be specified in the lexicon" (Chomsky: 1965:87). Clearly the above property of tan idem, buot idem and fat idem qualifies to be handled in the way suggested by Chomsky.

In generating (41) above the lexical rule will be sensitive to the sub-:categorization of the verbals tan idem, buot idem and fat idem. If we take a sentence such as (43), 44 will be generated after lexicalization.

(43) Mma oro eyefat idem esie :'The lady will be careful with herself'



44.

Reflexivization will then apply to 44 generating (43) via the intermediate structure (45).

(45) Mma ART AUX fat mma ART
[+NP sub = NP obj] [+Pro +Refl] [+Pro +Refl]

The justification for analysing sentences like (43) as well as (41) as we have done is that such an analysis ensures not only that the subject and object /

object in such sentences are coreferential but also no arbitrary insertion on the object node is allowed.

If (41) and (43) are analysed as reflexive sentences because of the nature of the verbals, can (46) be so analysed? We do not think so. We will give reasons presently:

(46)a. Arit ɔsɔp idem : 'Arit is quick'

(46)b. Iban oro ema esɔp idem : 'The women were quick'

In the first place, whereas *tan, *buɔt and *fat in (41) are meaningless without idem, sɔp (be quick) is perfectly grammatical and meaningful without idem. Thus (46) and (47) below are synonymous but (48) are ungrammatical:

(47)a. Arit ɔsɔp : 'Arit is quick'

(47)b. Iban oro esɔp : 'The women are quick'

(48)a. *Ata atan eti eti : 'Ata is very arrogant'

(48)b. *Nditen oro ebuɔt ye afo : 'Those children believe in you'

(48)c. *Arit afat eti eti : 'Arit is very careful with herself'

Secondly, although the subject range of sɔp is narrow, it certainly takes objects that differ from the subjects, as (46) show. Indeed it seems to be the case that the object, which is generally part of the body, must differ from the subject. Consider more examples with sɔp:

(49)a. Arit ɔsɔp ukot : 'Arit is quick in the legs'

(49)b. Iban oro ema esɔp ubɔk : 'The women were quick in the hands'

Interestingly enough, (46) and (49) could be paraphrases. The difference between (46a) and (49a) is that the latter but not the former specifically describes the thing that Arit did quickly, and that could be walking or running, as can be gathered from ukot (leg). Similarly, (46b) differs from (49b) because the latter but not the former shows that what the women did quickly involved the use of hands (from ubɔk - hands), and this was probably cooking. However, it is assumed that whether walking or cooking, it /

it is in fact the body which is involved, hence idem (body) may replace the specific body part (ukot, ubɔk, etc.), where this is obvious in the context or discourse. It should be obvious by now that idem in (46) is derived like idem in (29) and (33): namely as a lexical item in the base.

In retrospect, we would say that the element idem has two sources. It may be transformationally derived as part of the reflexive pronoun, or it may be generated in the base as a lexical item.

5.1.4 Reflexive Suffixes:

As we have already shown above, when the reflexive rule applies, the object (and from now on we will use the word object to include not only direct and indirect objects but also NPs dominated by Comp-Phrase) of the simplex is replaced ultimately by a reflexive pronoun. However, there are some cases where reflexivization does not appear to involve the use of the reflexive pronoun, at least in the surface structure. This does not appear to be unique to Efik. Jespersen (1933:111) observed it in English and Anderson (1968) referring to Jespersen too suggests that his 'active non-ergative' verbs can be interpreted as his 'ergative reflexive'. What is, however, unique in the Efik case is that the verbals (mostly those connected with wearing) in such reflexive sentences have one form for non-reflexive acts and another for reflexive acts,[1] as in the following examples:

(50)a. Bassey eyesin eyen ikpa-ukot:'Bassey will put on the baby shoes'
1 2 3 4 1 ----2--- 3 4

(50)b. Bassey eyesine ikpa-ukot: 'Bassey will put himself shoes'
1 2 3 1 --------2-------- 3

(51)a. Iban oro eyebɔp Arit bɔkut:'The women will tie Arit a head-tie'
1 2 3 4 5 2 1 ----3--- 4 5

(51)b. /

---

1. There seems to be no such distinction in pure Efik.

(51)b. Iban oro eyebɔbɔ bɔkut :'The women will tie themselves head-ties'
1 2 3 4 2 1 ---------3---------- 4

The non-reflexive and the reflexive forms of the verbals are sin (put something on someone else) and bɔp (tie someone else something), and sine (put something on yourself) and bɔbɔ (tie something on yourself), respec-:tively. Notice that there is an additional morpheme of a reflexive nature in sine and bɔbɔ so that whereas sin and bɔp contain one morpheme each, namely the imperative, sine and bɔbɔ contain two each, namely the imperative and the reflexive elements. One might therefore say that sine = sin + reflexive pronoun and bɔbɔ = bɔp + reflexive pronoun. Consider also the following examples:

(52)a. Etim obok mmɔ : 'Etim has gathered them together'
1 2 3 1 ---2-------- 3

(52)b. Mmɔ eboho : 'They have gathered together'
1 2 1 ---------2----------

(53)a. Arit eyet eyen idem : 'Arit has washed the baby body'
1 2 3 4 1 ---2------ 3 4

(53)b. Arit eyere idem : 'Arit has washed herself body'
1 2 3 1 ----------2------- 3

Observe that èboho and eyere behave very much like sine and bɔbɔ and bok and yet like sin and bɔp. Observe also that idem in (53) is not in fact a reflexive pronoun, as we have already noted (cf.5.1.2) but merely a lexical item meaning body. Observe furthermore, for future reference, that the tones on sin, bɔp, bok and yet are characteristically high. Now there are some pieces of syntactic and semantic evidence that the suffixes in sine, bɔbɔ, èboho and yere are reflexive in nature. First, these verbals do not allow reflexive pronouns in sentences that are intuitively felt to be reflexive, thus the following are ungrammatical:

(54)a.*Bassey eyesine idem esie ikpa-ukot:'Bassey will put himself shoes'

(54)b.*Iban oro eyebɔbɔ idem mmɔ bɔkut:'The women will tie themselves head-ties'

(54)c.*Mmɔ eboho idem mmɔ :'They have gathered themselves together'

(54)d.*Arit eyere idem idem : 'Arit has washed herself body'

which /

which correspond to (50b), (51b), (52b) and (53b). It appears the ungrammaticality of (54) is due to the fact that in one sense both the verbal suffixes and the reflexive pronouns appear to be performing one function. If so, the deletion of one or the other would save the sentences. If we delete the reflexive pronouns in (54), of course we get (50b), (51b), (52b) and (53b), all of which, as we have already seen, are grammatical. If we delete the suffixes from the verbals in (54) we get (55):

(55)a. Bassey eyesin idem esie ikpa-ukot :'Bassey will put himself shoes (without help)'

(55)b. Iban oro eyebɔp idem mmɔ bɔkut : 'The women will tie themselves headties'

(55)c. Mmɔ ebok idem mmɔ: 'They have gathered themselves (without compulsion)'

(55)d. Arit eyet idem idem :'Arit has washed herself (so don't bother to help)'

As (55) have certain implications that (50b), (51b), (52b) and (53b) do not have, we would hesitate to regard the former and the latter as para-:phrases. But this is immaterial. What is material is that <u>sine</u>, <u>bɔbɔ</u>, <u>eboho</u> and <u>yere</u>, which we claim contain reflexive morphemes, do not allow reflexive pronouns. Moreover, there is some syntactic difference between reflexivization that introduces the reflexive pronoun and that which introduces the reflexive suffix. Consider (56), for example:

(56)a. Bassey eyesine obufa ɔfɔŋ esie aka ŋwed : 'Bassey will put on his new clothes and go to school'
1 2 3 4 5 6 7 1 2 5 3 4 6 7

(56)b. *Bassey eyesin idem obufa ɔfɔŋ esie aka ŋwed:
'Bassey will put on his new clothes and go to school'

We will not discuss the nature of the constraint here.

Secondly, such suffixes appear to be confined to a simplex, just as reflexive pronouns. Consider the following examples:

(57)a. Bassey oyom Aṭa esin imɔ ikpa-ukot:'Bassey wants Aṭa to put shoes on him'
1 2 3 4 5 6 1 2 3 4 6 5

(57)b. /

(57)b. Bassey oyom Ata esine ikpa-ukot:'Bassey wants Ata to put shoes on himself'
1 2 3 4 5 1 2 3

(58)a. Enye oyom ndibok nnyin : 'He wants to gather us together'
1 2 3 4 1 2 3 4

(58)b. Enye oyom nnyin iboho :'He wants us to gather ourselves together'
1 2 3 4 1 2 3 ------4----------

Notice significantly that (59) are ungrammatical:

(59)a. *Bassey oyom Ata esine imɔikpa-ukot
'Bassey wants Ata to put shoes on himself him'

(59)b. *Enye oyom nnyin iboho mmɔ :'He wants us to gather ourselves them'

where sine and iboho cannot tolerate objects in reflexivizable positions, being reflexive in function themselves.

This leads us to the third consideration. Since sin, bɔp, bok and yet are transitive and since sine, bɔbɔ, eboho and yere are used only in cases where the action affects the subject itself, it is plausible to suppose that the suffixes do in fact replace the objects of such verbs when these are identical with the subjects. This has been demonstrated by the fact that the suffixes in such verbs and the reflexive pronouns are mutually exclusive, as the ungrammaticality of (54) shows.

We therefore conclude that the suffixes in sine, bɔbɔ, eboho and yere are reflexive in nature. Our claim is further strengthened when we compare sin/sine and yet/yere with French habiller/S'habiller, laver/se laver and German anziehen/sich anziehen, waschen/sich waschen, where se and sich correspond to the suffixes in sine and yere.

The next question is the generation of such reflexive sentences as (50b), (51b), (52b) and (53b). These are problem sentences. All the same, a solution can be found. In Chapter Two [illegible] we observed that the simplest form of the verb in Efik is the imperative singular. Attached to this form are various affixes indicating number, person, mood, aspect, tense, etc. In all these cases, the affixes precede the root form and we analysed /

analysed these affixes as elements that are ultimately to be derived from constituents of the AUX, which in itself precedes the main verb VB. In no case did we find a suffix. Even the negative affix which appears as a suffix also affects the prefix, as the following examples show:

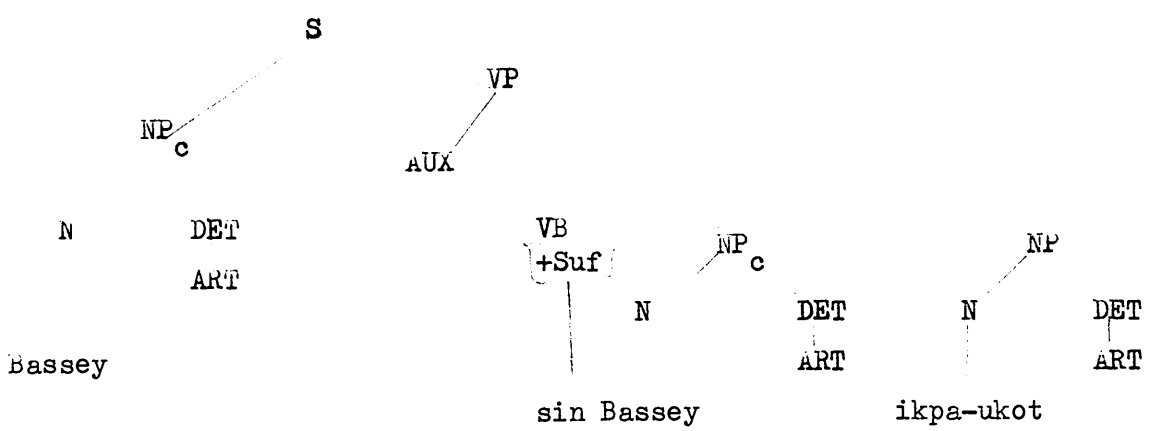
(60)a. Bassey ama enye : 'Bassey likes him'

(60)b. Bassey imaha enye : 'Bassey doesn't like him'

(61)a. Mbufo eyom enye : 'You (pl) are looking for him'

(61)b. Mbufo iyomke enye : 'You are not looking for him'

In the base NEG of course precedes the main verb. In short, suffixing as a grammatical function is uncommon, i.e. marked, in Efik, and only a few verbs manifest it for a special function, as we will see. Accordingly, we suggest that the few verbs that manifest suffixing be marked as [+Suf] (Suffix) to distinguish them from others which do not. So like [+NP$_{subj}$=NP$_{obj}$] (cf.5.1.3), +Suf is an idiosyncratic feature of verbs and verbs like sin, bop, bok and yet which manifest it will be so marked in the lexicon in the manner suggested by Chomsky (1965:87). Given the idiosyncratic feature [+Suf] on the verb sin, for example, let us try to generate a sentence like (50b), which is structured like 62a



62a.

As 62a is a proper analysis for reflexivization, the rule will apply, but because of the presence of the feature [+Suf] on the verb, instead of attaching /

attaching the feature [+Refl] to the object, this feature is attracted, as it were, to the verb and thus the verb is marked +Refl . But as we have already observed above, the reflexive suffix and the reflexive pro-:noun are mutually exclusive. For this reason, we suggest that when the reflexive rule attaches the feature [+Refl] to the verb, there be an obligatory rule, call it Reflexivizable NP Deletion, that deletes the coreferent object that failed to reflexivize (Bassey + ART in this case). The two rules together generate

(62)b. Bassey ART AUX sin ikpa-ukot ART
[+Suf]
[+Refl]

The surface form sine will be realised from sin [+Suf] and (50b) would thus be generated. [+Refl]

But how can examples like (55), which contain the regular reflexive pronouns but which are not paraphrases of (50b), (51b), (52b) and (53b), be generated? Since it is the feature specification [+Suf] which allows (50b), (51b), (52b) and (53b) to be generated, the absence of this feature should on the other hand allow (55), where the verbs have no suffixes, to be generated. For this reason, we suggest that verbs like sin, bɔ, bok and yet should be specified as [±Suf] in the lexicon. [+Suf] will allow (50b), (51b), (52b) and (53b) to be generated while [-Suf] will allow (55) to be generated.

5.1.5 Ergative Construction:

The Ergative construction is not our main concern, but deserves a brief mention here. We have just shown above that the suffixes in sine, bɔbɔ, eboho and yere are reflexive in nature. In the same way, can the suffixes in obomo, ebede, abiara and awaha in the following examples be analysed as reflexive suffixes?

(63)a. /

(63)a. Enye obom abaŋ : 'He has broken a pot'
1 2 3 1 ---2------ 3

(63)b. Abaŋ obomo : 'The pot is broken'

(64)a. Arit ebet usuŋ : 'Arit has closed the door'
1 2 3 1 ---2------ 3

(64)b. Usuŋ ebede : 'The door is closed'

(65)a. Etim abiat ŋwed oro : 'Etim has spoiled that book'
1 2 3 4 1 ---2------- 4 3

(65)b. ŋwed oro abiara : 'The book is spoiled'

(66)a. Ata awak itam mi : 'Ata has torn my hat'
1 2 3 4 1 ---2---- 4 3

(66)b. Itam mi awaha : 'My hat is torn'

It is tempting to do so, but let us examine the following sentences:

(67)a. Sin enye ikpa-ukot : 'Put shoes on him'
1 2 ----3---- 1 3 2

(67)b. Sine ikpa-ukot : 'Put (yourself) shoes on'

(68)a. Bɔp enye bɔkut : 'Tie her a head-tie'

(68)b. Bɔbɔ bɔkut : 'Tie (yourself) a head-tie'

(69)a. Bok mmɔ : 'Gather them together'

(69)b. Èboho : 'Gather (yourselves) together'

(70)a. Yet eyen idem : 'Wash the baby body'

(70)b. Yere idem : 'Wash yourself body'

But

(71)a. Bom abaŋ : 'Break a pot'

(71)b. *Bomo : 'Break yourself'

(72)a. Bet usuŋ : 'Close the door'

(72)b. *Bede : 'Close yourself'

(73)a. Biat ŋwed oro : 'Spoil that book'

(73)b. *Biara : 'Spoil yourself'

(74)a. Wak itam mmi : 'Tear my hat to pieces'

(74)b. *Waha : 'Tear yourself to pieces'

Now observe important syntactic differences between sine, bɔbɔ, èboho, yere and bomo, bede, biara, waha in (67-70) and (71-74) respectively. First /

First, sine, bɔbɔ, eboho and yere allow the imperative but bomo, bede, biara and waha do not. Secondly, the subjects of obomo, ebede, abiara and awaha, as (63b), (64b), (65b) and (66b) show, are characteristically inanimate, whereas those of sine, bɔbɔ, eboho and yere (see 50b, 51b, 52b, 53b) are at least animate, if non-human. Furthermore, observe that the tones on bom, bet, biat and wak are characteristically low, while those on sin, bɔp, bok and yet, as already observed, are characteristically high. One wonders therefore whether these syntactic differences do not in fact correspond to a semantic difference between the two kinds of suffixes. We therefore conclude that the suffixes in sine, bɔbɔ, eboho and yere on the one hand, and those on bomo, bede, biara and waha on the other, though similar in pattern, are not semantically equivalent. In other words, those in bomo, bede, biara and waha are not reflexive in nature. It seems to me that the suffixes here indicate the relationship between the object of a transitive verb and the subject of the same verb used intransitively in the so-called ergative construction.

Additional support for our claim that the suffixes in bomo, bede, biara and waha are not reflexive in nature comes from the fact that whereas with sine, bɔbɔ, eboho and yere, the reflexive pronoun itself may replace the suffix in certain contexts, as we have already seen, this is not the case with bomo, bede, biara and waha, as in these examples:

(75)a. Abaŋ obomo : 'The pot is broken'

(75)b. *Abaŋ obom idem esie : 'The pot has broken itself'

(76)a. Usuŋ ebede : 'The door is closed'

(76)b. *Usuŋ ebet idem esie : 'The door has closed itself'

(77)a. ŋwed oro abiara : 'The book is spoiled'

(77)b. *ŋwed oro abiat idem esie : 'The book has spoiled itself'

(78)a. Itam mmi awaha : 'My hat is torn to pieces'

(78)b. /

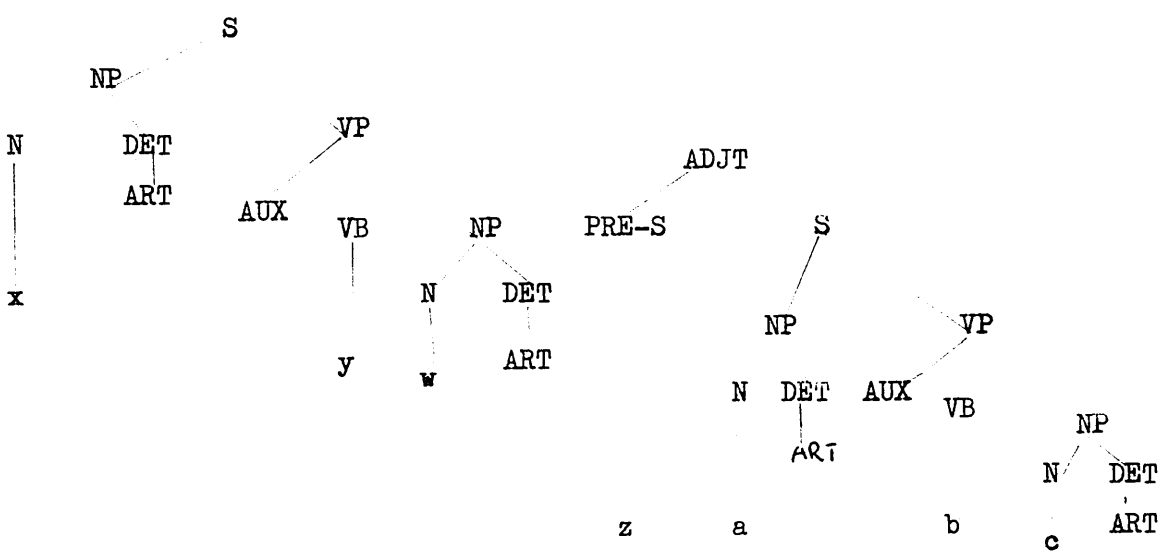
(78)b. *Itam mmi awak idem esie : 'My hat has torn itself to pieces'

It could be argued that this is a matter of selectional restrictions. Apparently, however, it is reflexivization in the (b) examples above which has created the problem.

It is not clear exactly how these sentences should be handled, or indeed whether they can be satisfactorily handled in terms of an Aspects grammar: possibly, however, an operation similar to that suggested for the sentences with 'reflexive' verbs would be appropriate.

5.2 Reflexivization in Complex Structures:

So far we have maintained that reflexivization occurs in a simplex. In this section, we wish to examine various complex sentences with reflexive pronouns to see whether the simplex condition actually holds, at least in all known cases, or whether there is need for some modification. For our purposes, we will define a complex structure as a structure with at least one embedded S, as the structure in 79:



79.

where x, y, w, z, a, b, c, stand for lexical items. An embedded S is defined as an S dominated by an S constituent. Thus in 79 the S dominated by ADJT is an embedded S.

The /

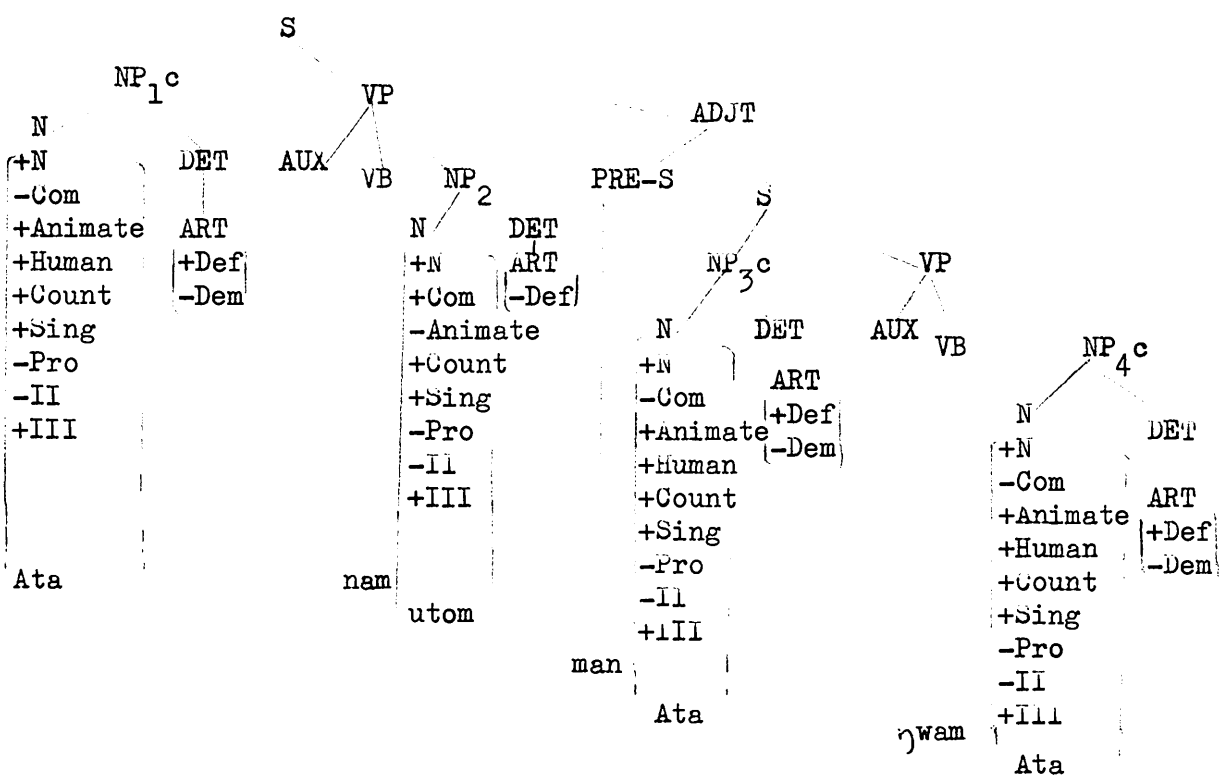
The following kinds of sentences are analysable as complex structures as defined above; sentences with Adjunct (or adverbial) clauses as (80a); sentences with the complementizer ete as (80b); and sentences with infinitive clauses as (80c).

(80)a. Ata anam utom man aŋwam idem esie:'Ata works so that he might help himself'
1 2 3 4 1,2 3 4

(80)b. Ete oro ekere ete imɔ iyemiŋ idem imɔ:'The man thinks he will draw himself'
1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 2 1 3 5 6 8 7

(80)c. Arit ama ndi toro idem esie :'Arit likes to praise herself'
1 2 1 2

Because of the complications created by imɔ in (80b), we will not try to generate that sentence until the problems of imɔ have been discussed (cf. 6.3.ff). Let us now try to analyse examples (80a) and (80c). Let us begin with (80a), which is structured as 81a below:



81a.

where c indicates coreference between NPs[2].

As 81a indicates, there is a proper analysis for reflexivization, the following /

2. This indexing convention is used merely as a tool for representation.

following conditions having been satisfied:

(i) there is an S which is a simplex;

(ii) the subject of this S is coreferential with the object (i.e. $NP_3 = NP_4$)

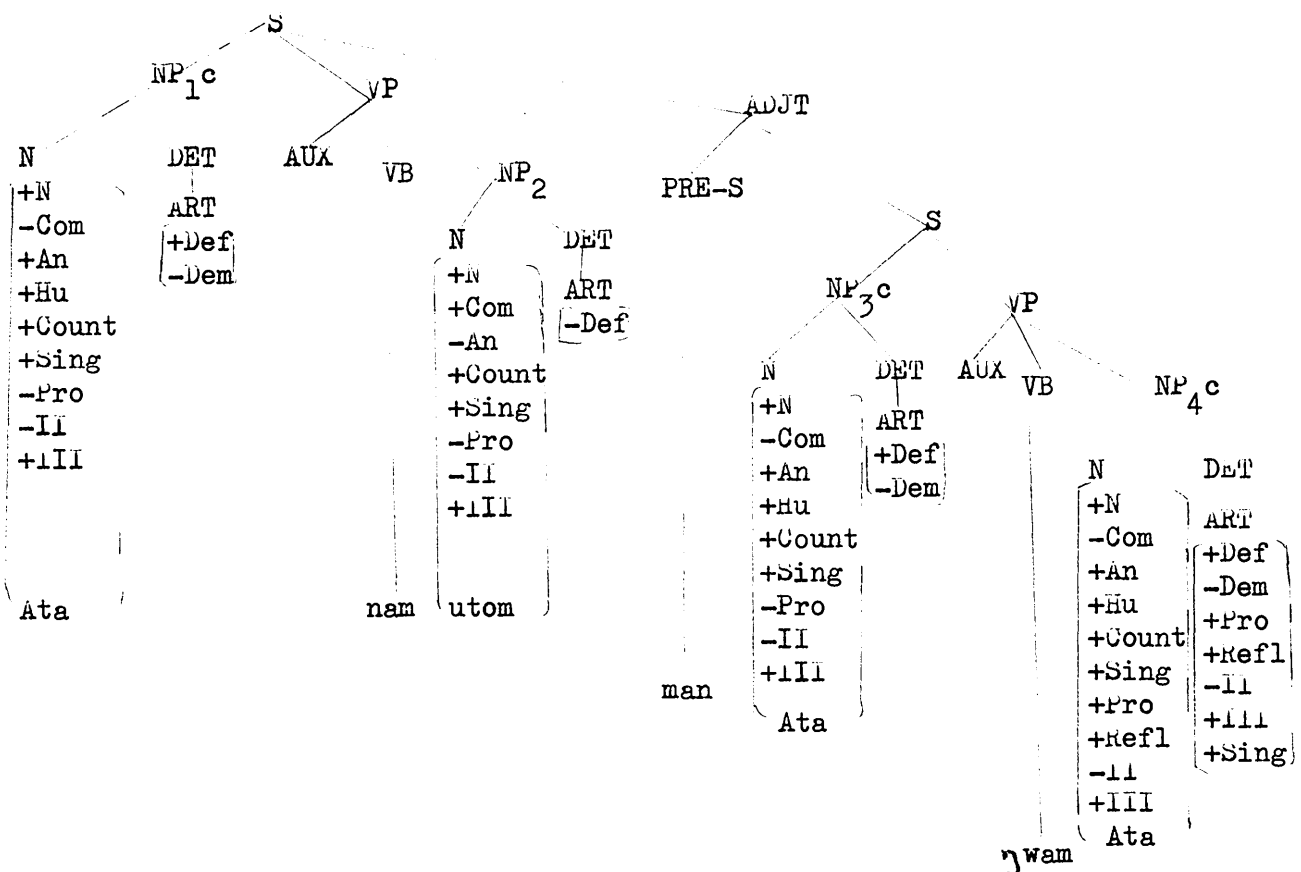
(iii) none of the coreferential NPs is dominated by a Pred.

When the rule applies in the manner explained in 5.1.1, the following changes will be effected:

(a) the feature [-Pro] on the N of NP_4 will become [+Pro] and feature [+Refl] will also be introduced on it;

(b) the features in (a) as well as the features of Number and Person on the N will be copied onto the ART node of this NP (i.e. NP_4)

These changes together generate 81b:

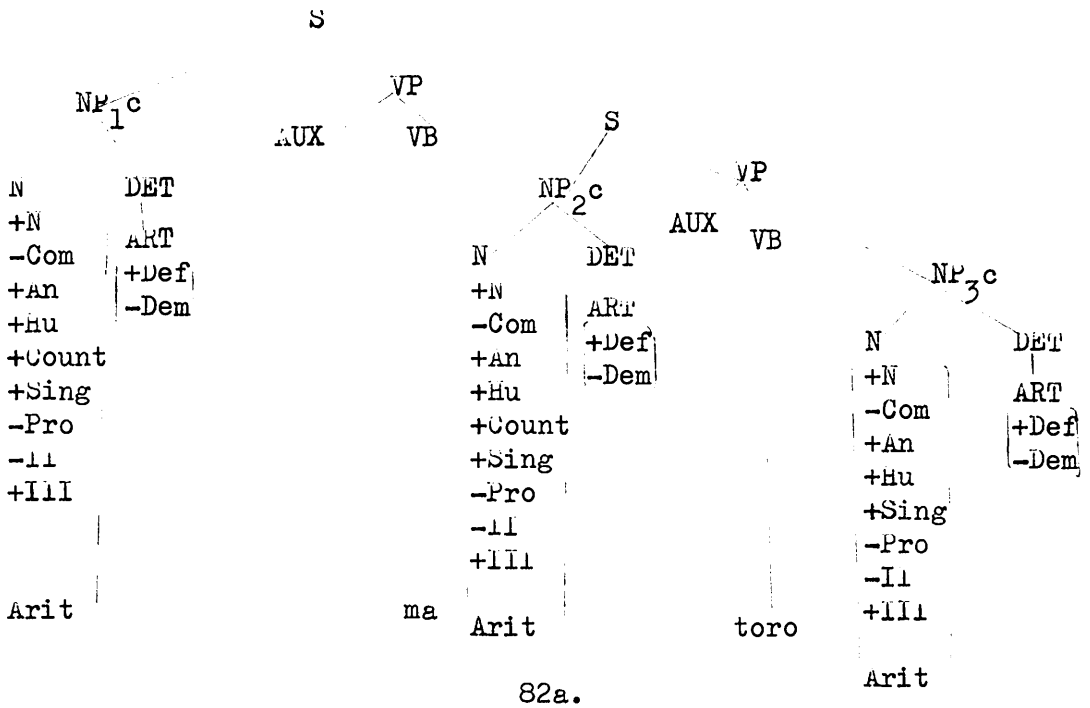


81b.

With the features [+Sing, +Pro, +Refl, +III], the N will be realised as <u>idem</u> while the ART will be realised as <u>esie</u>. In this way, the reflexive pronoun <u>idem esie</u> is generated. NP_3 will become <u>he</u> by simple pronominali-:zation, which we will discuss in Chapter Six, when we move into the next higher /

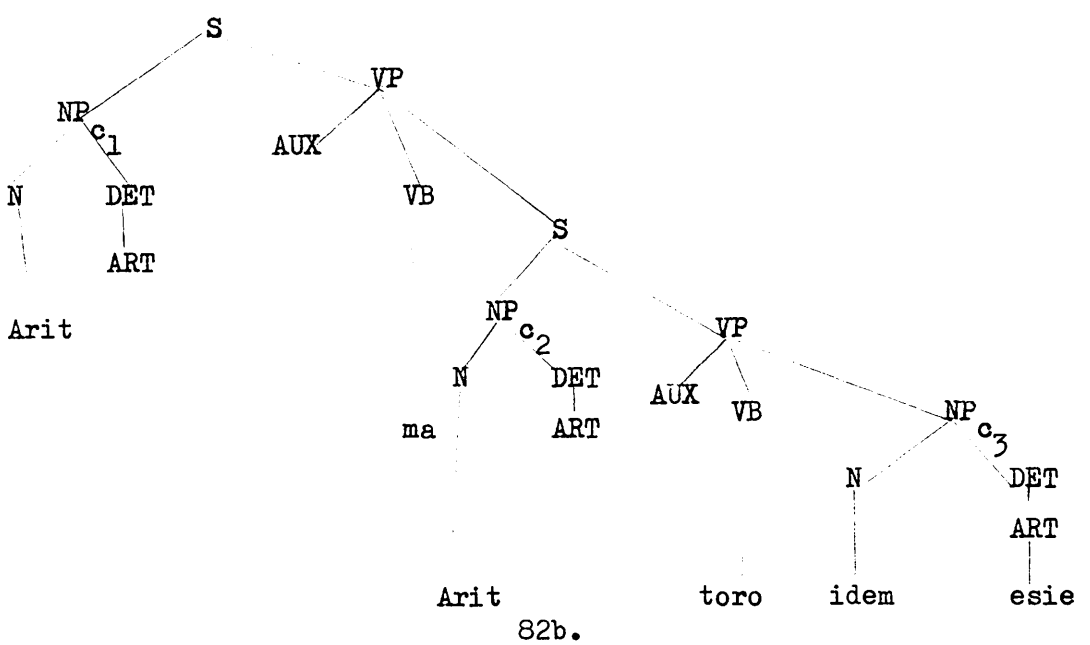
higher sentence in the next cycle. In this way, (80a) will be generated, after the pronoun <u>enye</u> is deleted (optionally).

Let us now turn to (80c) which is structured as 82a:



82a.

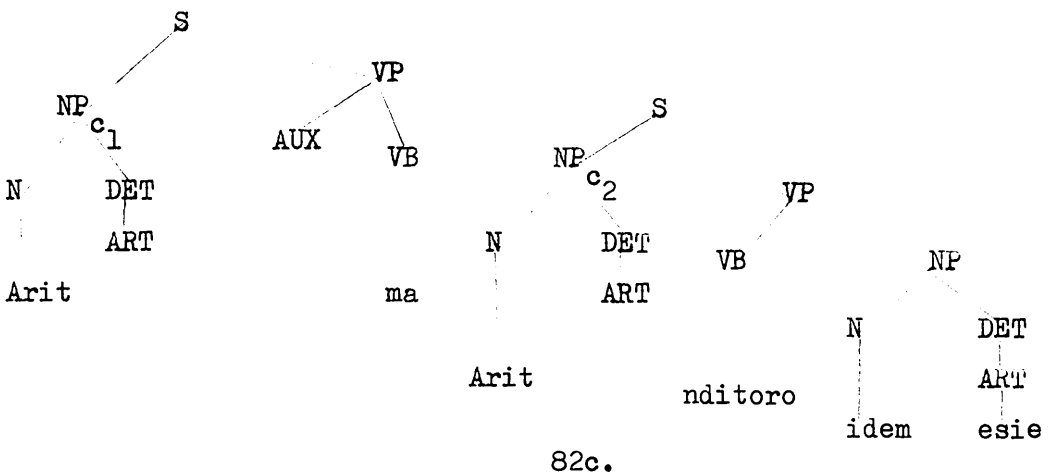
82a contains an S in which the subject and the object are coreferential. Since this S is a simplex, reflexivization will apply and omitting the structural details, the following will be generated:



82b.

In order to generate (80c) from 82b, two important rules, among others, will be required, namely infinitivization and NP deletion. Let us begin with /

with the former, which must apply before the latter. The infinitivization rule is formulated to apply instead of the concord rule in certain struc-:tures like 82b above, and is either optional or obligatory depending on the configuration. When this rule applies, it will have the effect of deleting the AUX of the embedded S and attaching the prefix ndi- to the VB thus generating 82c:



82c.

There are conditions which must be fulfilled before the rule applies. These are:

(a) The S in which the rule applies must not only be an embedded S but also must be dominated by either the NP or VP; that is such an S must act either as the subject or object of another S (generally the matrix S) in the complex structure;

(b) If the embedded S is the object of the matrix (or next higher) S, then the subject of this embedded S must be coreferential with an NP in the matrix (or next higher) S;

(c) The embedded subject is deletable. In the case of the structure 82a, 82b or 82c, this subject (Arit + ART) must be deleted, as we will see presently.

Since the embedded subject is crucial for the application of the infiniti-:vization rule, this rule must therefore precede any rule that deletes this crucial NP. 82c is therefore an input to the rule that deletes the embedded subject and when this rule applies, (80c) above will be generated. In /

In English, the deletion of such an NP as NP_2 in 82c is performed by the rule of Equi-NP-Deletion. In Efik, however, it seems as if this NP, which is in fact pronominal at the time of deletion (cf.6.2), is deleted by the Pronoun Deletion Rule (cf.6.1.2) that deletes anaphoric personal pronouns in general.

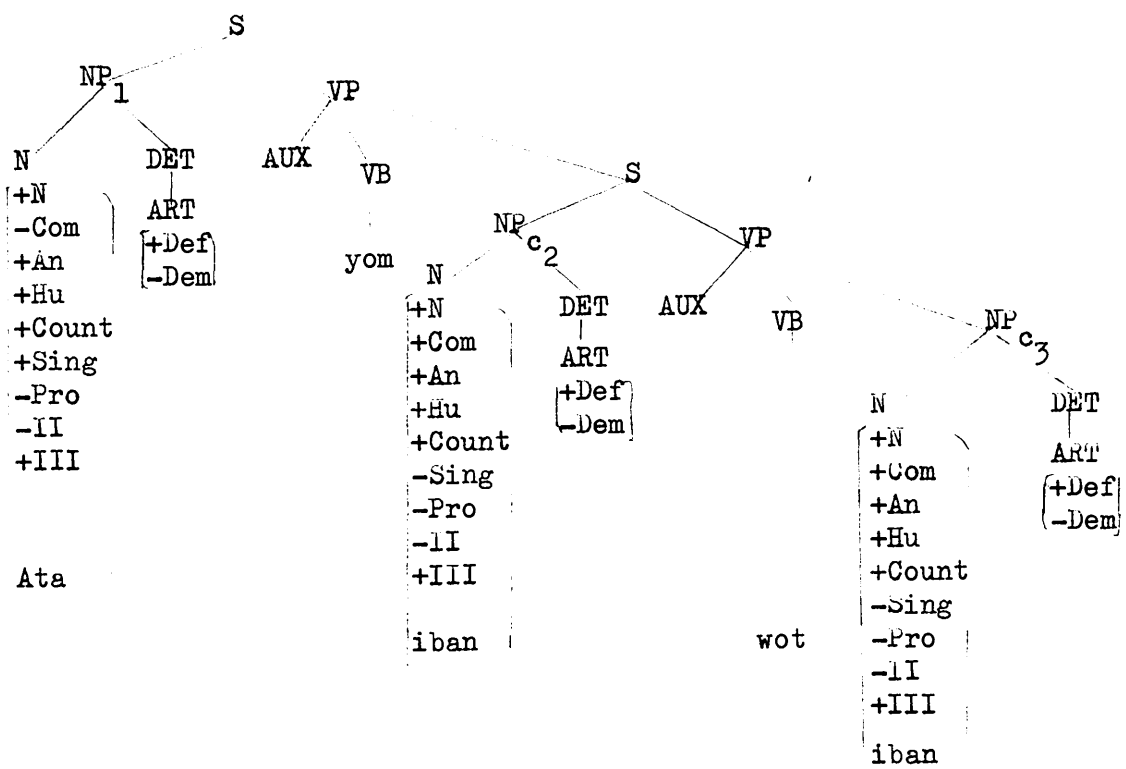
So far it seems as if the subject of the embedded S must always be corefer-:ential with that of the matrix in such structures (i.e. those underlying infinitive sentences like (80c)). But this is in fact not the case. Consider the following examples:

(83)a. Ata oyom iban oro ewot idem mm):'Ata wants the women to kill themselves'
1 2 3 4 5 6 1 3 2 4 6 5

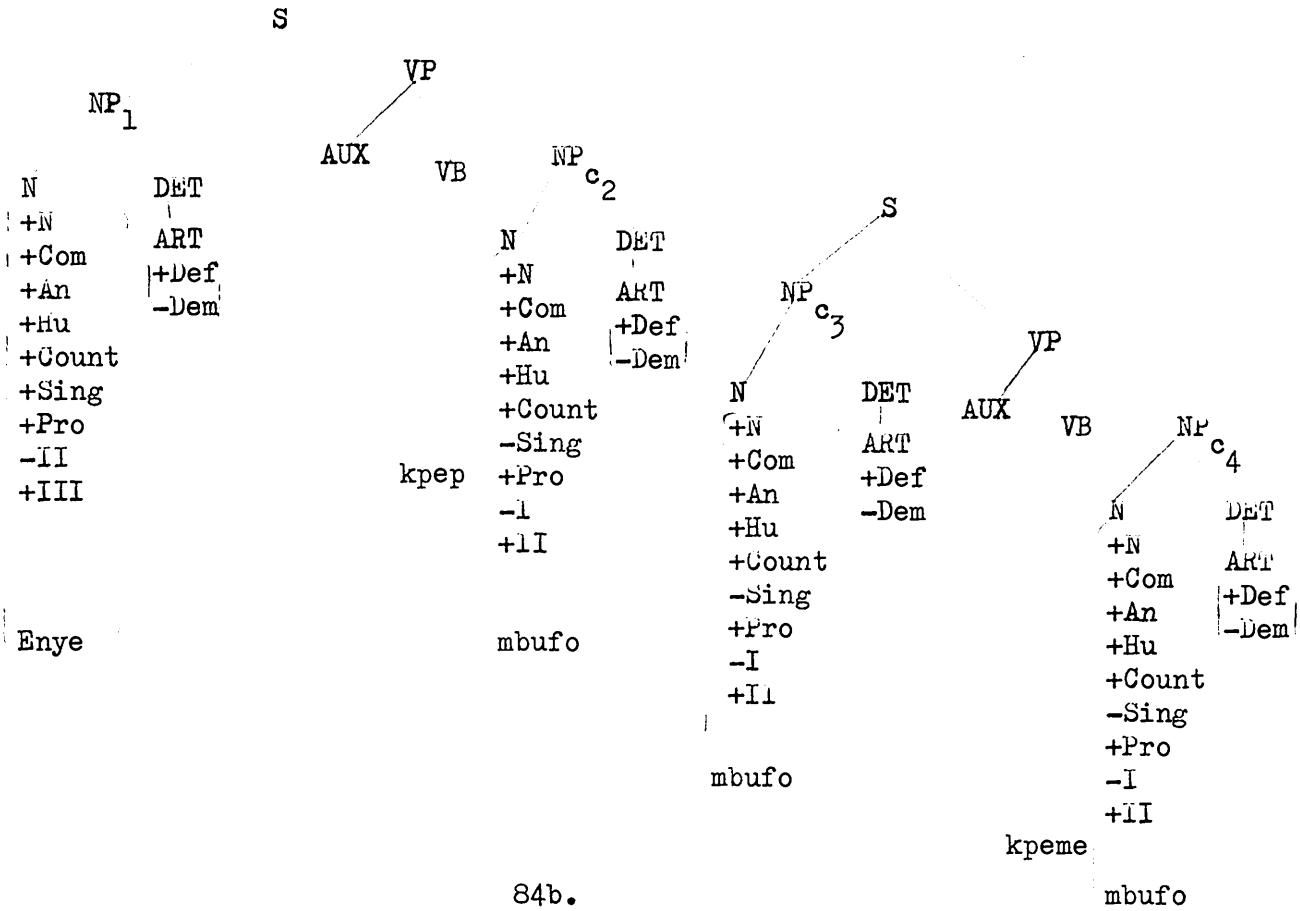
(83)b. Enye ekpep mbufo ndikpeme idem mbufo
1 2 3 4 5 6

He has taught you how to look after yourselves
1 ---2------ 3 --4----- 6 5

(83a) and (83b) are derived from 84a and 84b respectively:



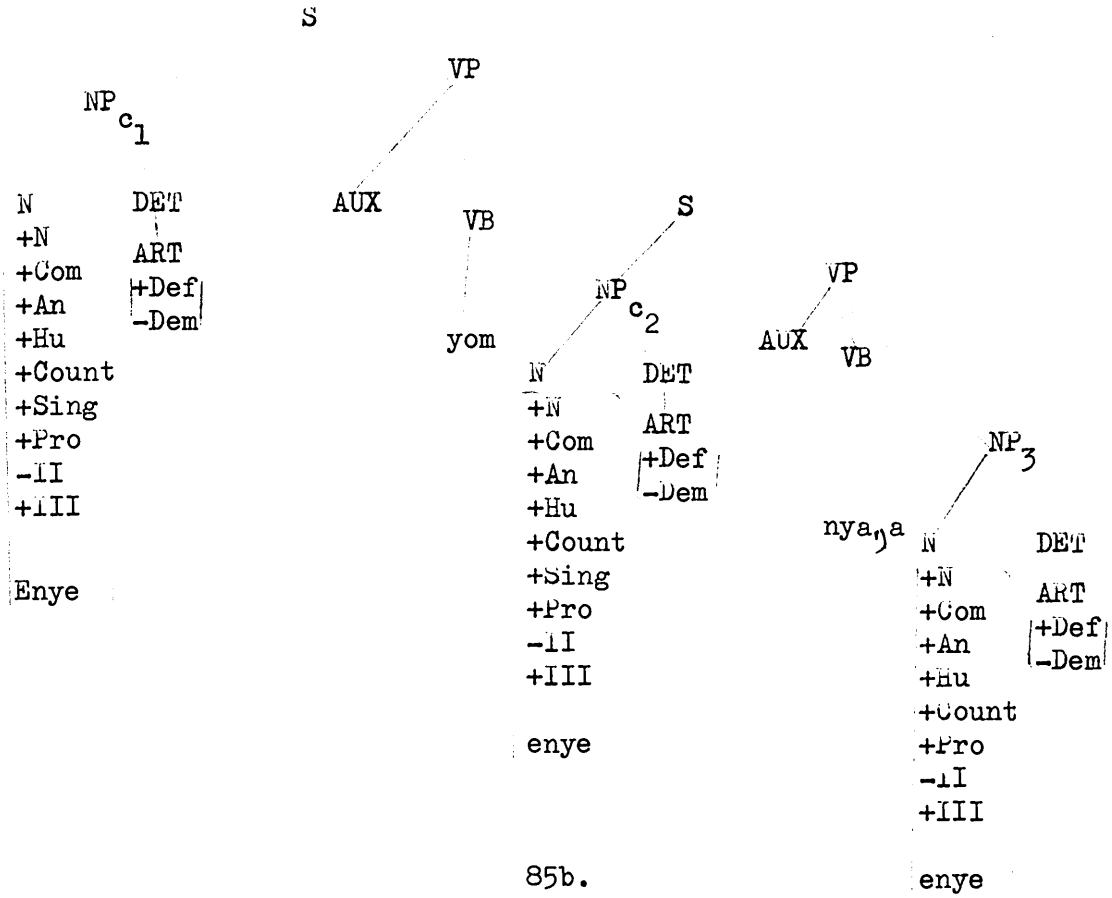
84a.



84b.

To generate (83a) from 84a, NP_2 will reflexivize NP_3 in the latter. Observe that 84a does not meet all the conditions for the application of infini-:tivization, for although the embedded S is the object of the matrix, the subject of this embedded S is not coreferential with an NP in the matrix. Consequently, infinitivization does not apply in 84a. In 84b, however, after reflexivization, infinitivization will be required, since all the conditions given above for the application of the rule have been met. Observe that it is coreference within a simplex which is crucial. Thus in (85a), where there is no coreference within a simplex, as 85b under-:lying it shows, there is no reflexivization.

(85)a. Enye oyom ndinyaŋa enye : 'He wants to help him'
1 2 3 4 1 2 --3---- 4



85b.

Although there is coreference in 85b - NP_1 in the matrix = NP_2 in the embedded S - reflexivization does not take place because the coreferent NPs are dominated by different S's. Thus although the subject of the embedded S is coreferential with the subject of the matrix, this embedded subject is <u>not</u> in turn coreferential with the object in its own clause, namely NP_3. Therefore the SD for reflexivization is not met. Thus (85a) differs from (86) below semantically because in the former two persons are involved but in the latter only one person is involved:

(86) Enye oyom ndinyaŋa idem esie : 'He wants to help himself'

Incidentally, if the subject of the matrix and the object of the embedded S were the same person and the subject of the embedded S were an entirely different person, 85b would be realised as (87):

(87) Enye oyom enye anyaŋa imɔ : 'He wants him to help him'
c c c

We will discuss the use of <u>imɔ/mmimɔ</u> (he/she/it/they) in Chapter Six (cf./

(cf.6.3 ff).

Observe that infinitivization is not contigent on reflexivization, since the former must apply in 85b in order to derive (85a). Also applicable in 85b is the Pronoun Deletion Rule referred to above and which we will discuss in full in Chapter Six.

Next, consider the following three sentences in (88). Observe that these factors make a lot of differences:

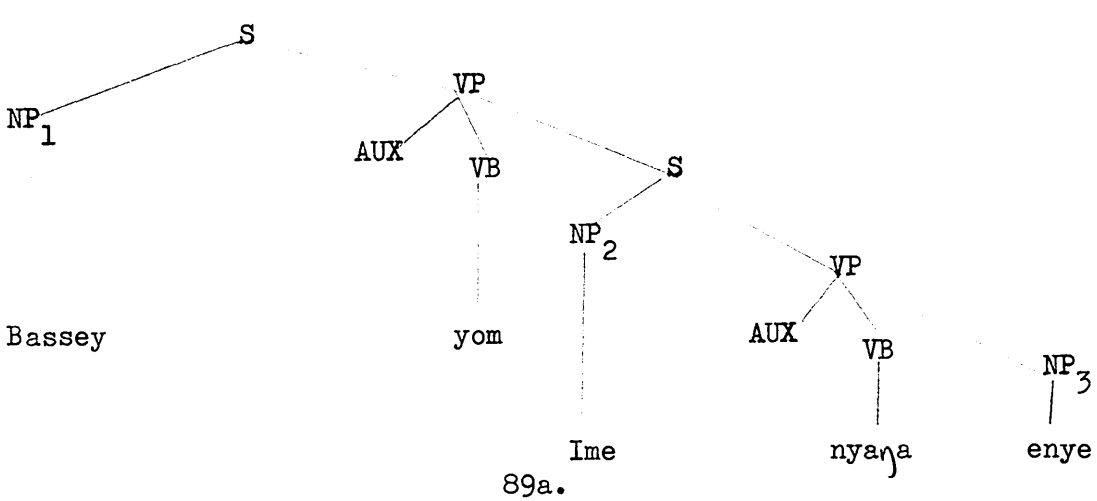
(a) coreference in a simplex, as in (88a);
(b) coreference outside a simplex, as in (88b);
(c) non-coreference, as in (88c).

(88)a.Bassey oyom Ime$_c$ anyaŋa idem esie$_c$:'Bassey wants Ime$_c$ to help himself$_c$'

(88)b.Bassey$_c$ oyom Ime anyaŋa im$_c$ɔ:'Bassey$_c$ wants Ime to help him$_c$'

(88)c.Bassey oyom Ime anyaŋa enye:'Bassey wants Ime to help him(someone else)

In (88a) Ime anyaŋa idem esie is a simplex, hence the reflexivization. In (88b), Bassey and imɔ, which are coreferential, are in different S con-:figurations, hence no reflexivization. (88c) is actually ambiguous. In one interpretation, Bassey and enye are two different people, in which case it is structured as 89a, omitting structural details:

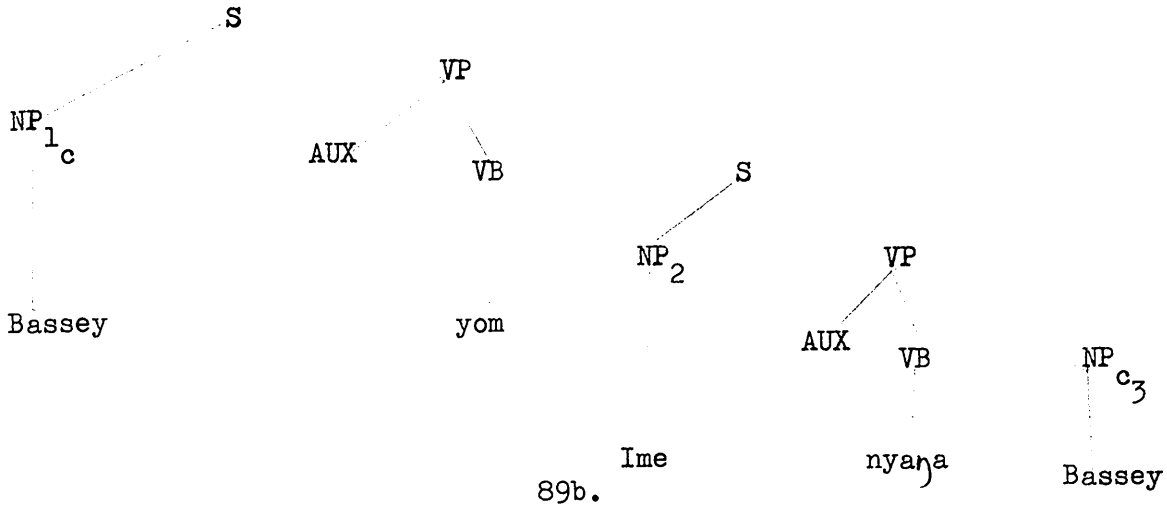


89a.

In another interpretation, enye and Bassey would be the same person, just as imɔ and Bassey in (88b), in which case (88)c would be structured as

89b /

89b, again omitting details:



89b.

A structure like 89b would provide an SD for simple pronominalization by which <u>enye</u> can be derived from NP_3 <u>Bassey</u>. Simple pronominalization will of course be discussed in Chapter Six. We will also discuss the differences between sentences like (88b) and (88c) in the interpretation in which <u>Bassey</u> and <u>enye</u> are coreferential.

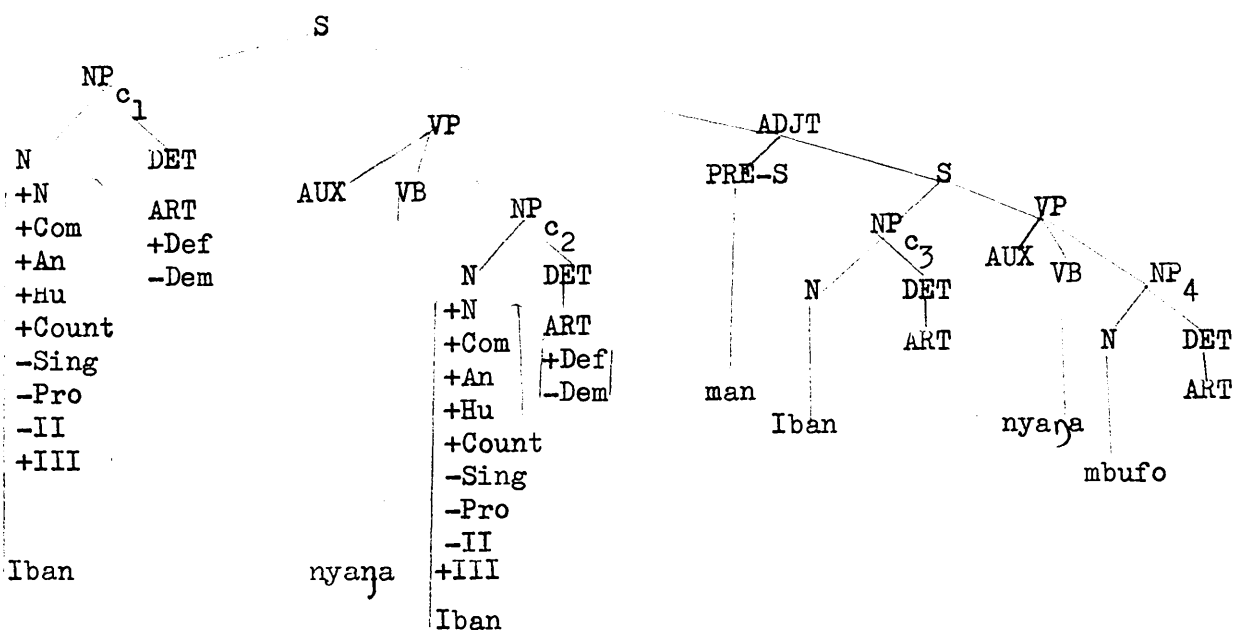
So far it appears as if reflexivization applies only in an embedded S. But in fact this is not the case as (90) show:

(90)a. Ime ekpep idem esie ndiwat moto:'Ime taught himself to drive a car'
1 2 3 4 1 3 2 4

(90)b. Iban oro enyaŋa idem mmɔ man mmɔ enyaŋa mbufo
1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8

'The women have helped themselves so that they may help you'
2 1 3 5 4 6 7 8

Let us consider the derivation of (90b), which is structured as 91



As reflexivization is cyclic, we begin with the embedded S. Reflexi-:vization will not apply here because there is no proper analysis for this rule. However, NP_3 is pronominalized by simple pronominalization, since it is coreferential with an NP, in fact with NPs, in the matrix S. So if simple pronominalization applies - it appears to be obligatory in this case - the following string, omitting the details, will be generated:

(92) Iban ART AUX nyaŋa iban ART man mmɔ AUX nyaŋa mbufo ART

In the matrix cycle itself the conditions for the application of reflexivi-:zation are met, so the rule will apply and (90b) will finally be generated. It appears therefore that reflexivization precedes or follows simple pronominalization depending on whether the simplex that satisfies the application of this rule is the embedded or matrix S.

In retrospect, it seems that so far there is no evidence to suggest that reflexivization is not limited to the simplex in Efik.

5.3 Reflexivization in Structures with Co-ordinate NPs and Co-ordinate S's

In this section, we will be concerned with sentences containing the so-:called co-ordinate conjunctions. We will accept without further qualifi-:cation the common definition of a co-ordinate conjunction as one that conjoins categories of the same kind, e.g. S and S, NP and NP, etc. In Efik, ye and nyuŋ may be regarded as co-ordinate conjunctions, since as we will see below ye co-ordinates NPs while nyuŋ co-ordinates sentences. There are of course other conjunctions such as edi (but) and mme (or) in these examples:

(92)a. Bassey ama$_1$ okut mi$_2$ edi$_3$ ikɔmke$_4$: 'Bassey saw me$_2$ but didn't$_4$ greet$_1$ me'

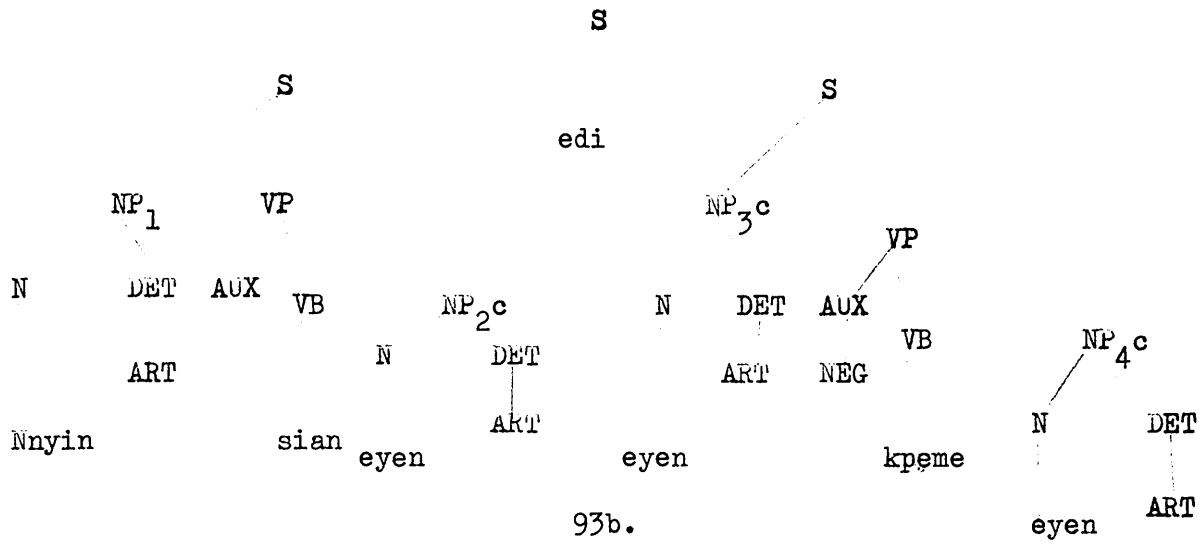
(92)b. Nnyɔmke$_1$ Okon mme$_2$ Ata : 'I don't$_1$ want Okon or Ata'

For the purposes of reflexivization, however, we will not discuss sentences with edi and mme, since for one thing, in the case of the former, reflexivization /

reflexivization would apply in a straightforward manner, as 93b, which underlies (93a), shows:

(93)a. Nnyin ima isian eyen oro edi enye ikekpemeke idem esie
1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9 10

'We past morph tell the boy but he didn't take care of himself'



93b.

Since NP_3 and NP_4 are coreferential and since the S that dominates them is a simplex, reflexivization will apply in that S without any problems.

In the case of mme, many sentences with this morpheme do not allow reflexi-:vization, thus (94), for example, are ungrammatical:

(94)a.*Mmaha idem mmi mme Effiong: 'I don't like myself or Effiong'

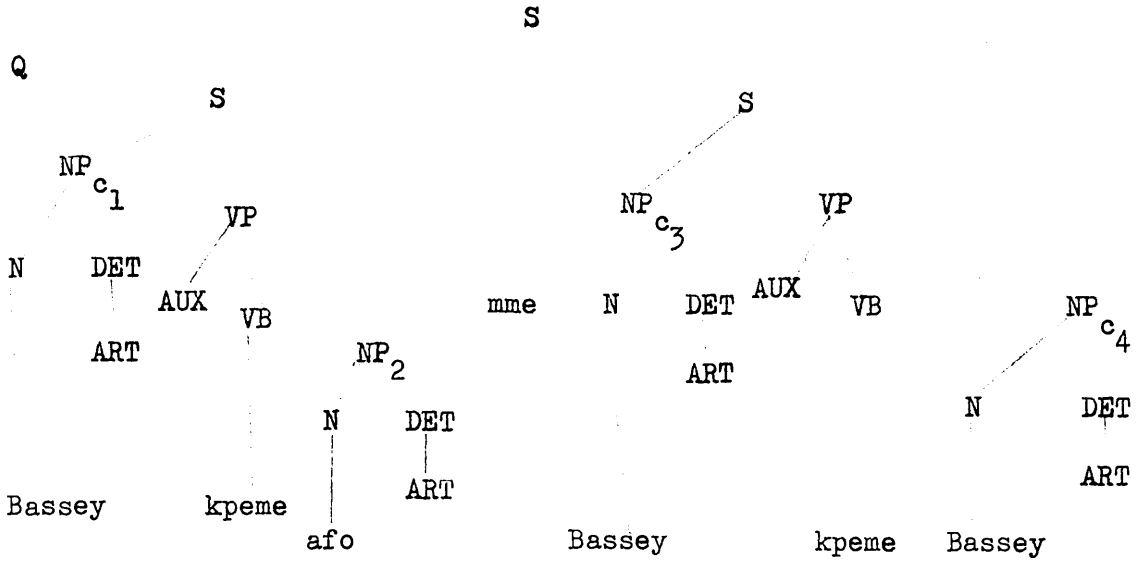
(94)b.*Effiong ikpemeke fi mme idem esie :'Effiong doesn't take care of
1 2 3 4 5 1
you or himself'
2 3 5 4

Even in cases where reflexivization is permissible, as in (95a), there would be no problem for the rule, since (95a) is derived from (95b), which is structured as 96 omitting details:

(95)a. Nte Bassey ekekpeme fi mme idem esie?:'Did Bassey protect you or
1 2 3 4 5 1 2 3
himself?'
5 4

(95)b. Nte Bassey ekekpeme fi me ekekpeme idem esie?

'Did Bassey protect you or did he protect himself?'



96.

As in 93b, since NP_3 and NP_4 are coreferential and since the S that dominates them is a simplex, it will be a case of straightforward reflexi-:vization. Perhaps we should add that mme appears to occur only in negative or question sentences such as (92b) and (95) above. Thus (97), for example, is ungrammatical:

(97) *Nnyom Okon mme Ata : 'I want Okon or Ata'

So in retrospect structures such as 93b and 96 with edi and mme respect-:ively are similar to those underlying sentences with nyuŋ as we will see in 5.3.5 below. So reflexivization in structures underlying nyuŋ sentences will be assumed to be similar to reflexivization in sentences with edi and mme.

We now return to ye and nyuŋ, which occur in sentences like (98a) and (98b) respectively:

(98)a. Bassey ye Etim eka : 'Bassey and Etim have gone'

(98)b. Ime ama obuɔt okuk onyuŋ ɔbɔp ufɔk
1 2 3 4 5 6

'Ime past morph. borrow money and built a house'
1 2 3 4 5 6

To analyse the sentences in (98) we turn to the analyses of similar sen-:tences in English. Within the transformational generative theory there are /

are three hypotheses and Stockwell et al (1968) outlines them as follows:

(1) Both phrasal conjunction and derived conjunction are basic (Smith, Lakoff & Peters, Ross)

(2) Only phrasal conjunction is basic (Wierzbicka, McCawley, Dougherty)

(3) Only derived conjunction is basic (Gleitman, Bellert, Schane).

By phrasal conjunction is meant that certain sentences with the co-ordinate conjunction and are in fact simple sentences with a co-ordination of such S constituents as NPs or VPs. Thus a sentence such as

(99)a. John and Mary are alike

according to Lakoff and Peters (1966) cannot be derived from a sentence embodying a conjunction of two assertions. Thus (99)b is ungrammatical:

(99)b. *John is alike and Mary is alike

So according to Lakoff and Peters, "at least in the case of noun phrases, conjunction must occur in the base component. That is, there must be a rule schema of the form

$$NP \longrightarrow \text{and } (NP)^n,\ n \geq 2\text{" (p.114).}$$

On the other hand, a sentence like (100a) "embodies a conjunction of two assertions"

(100)a. John and Mary are erudite.

In other words, a sentence like (100a) is derived from a conjunction of two sentences such as (100b). Such a conjunction has been referred to as sentence conjunction or derived conjunction.

(100)b. John is erudite and Mary is erudite.

So in (100a), the conjunction of John and Mary at this surface level is not basic but acutally 'derived' after a number of operations.

The three proposals above therefore revolve round these two kinds of con-:junction namely conjunction whose source is via the schema above, or conjunction whose source is in sentences in the base.

The /

The question is which of these proposals is best suited for our purpose? As Stockwell and his co-authors have acknowledged, none of the three can adequately handle conjoined structures in English but in their opinion, the three do not fail in the same way and the third, namely all conjoined sentences in English are derived as a conjunction of sentences in the base, is shown to be superior to the other two. For Efik, however, similar sentences can best be handled by the Lakoff and Peters' analysis which allows both phrasal conjunction and sentence conjunction in the base. In the first place, whereas English has one morpheme and which appears to conjoin both S's and S constituents, Efik has two, ye and nyuŋ, each of which conjoins different, though specific, kinds of constituents. We would not therefore necessarily expect to find the same sorts of problems in Efik created by the use of and in English. Not only does Efik discri-:minate morphologically between phrasal conjunction and sentence conjunc-:tion, but also one of the conjoining elements nyuŋ is inflected for number and person, as we have already seen in Chapter Two (cf.2.10). Moreover, the problems created by the English respectively conjunction and used by Stockwell et al to support their analysis does not arise in Efik, since this kind of conjunction does not exist in Efik. Although there are similarities between English and Efik conjunctions, the nature of the problems are different for both languages. For example, English analysts do not have to contend with a co-ordinate conjunction like nyuŋ which is inflected. Accordingly, we will treat conjunction in Efik in its own right. In the following sections, we will examine conjunction involving ye and nyuŋ in some more detail and see how reflexivization applies in such structures.

5.3.1 /

5.3.1 Ye Conjuncts:

In Chapter Three (cf.3.6) we showed among other things that ye conjoins NPs and that the modifiers of such NPs under certain conditions may be deleted. It is now known that Comp-Phrases are also conjoinable by ye. Thus we have the following examples:

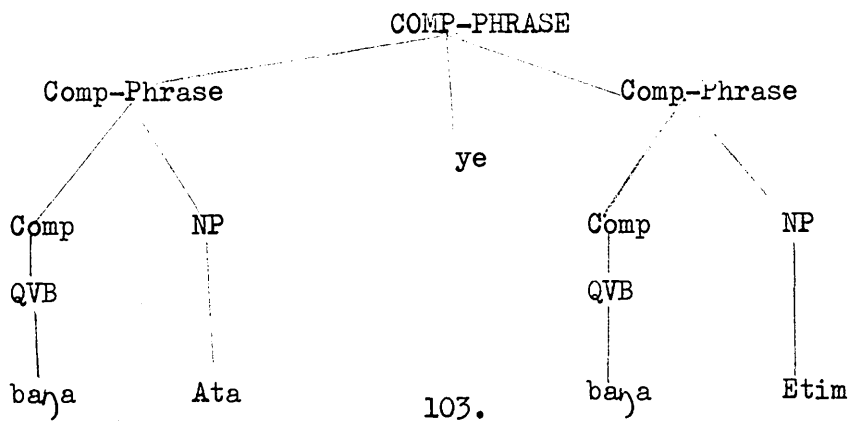
(101)a.Enye adia udia ke fɔk ye ke ikwa:'He is eating with a fork and knife'
1 2 3 4 5 6 7 1 --2,3---- 4 5 6 7

(101)b.Bassey ama etiŋ mbuk abaŋa Ata ye Etim
'Bassey told a story about Ata and Etim'

where ye conjoins ke fɔk and ke ikwa in (101a) and abaŋa Ata and abaŋa Etim in (101b). The second ke in (101a) may be deleted, thus we have (102) which is synonymous with (101a):

(102) Enye adia udia ke fɔk ye ikwa :'He is eating with a fork and a knife'

In the case of (101b) the second abaŋa must have been obligatorily deleted, since the Comp-Phrase is structured as 103:



103.

That is (104), where the deletion of the second abaŋa has not taken place, is ungrammatical:

(104)*Bassey ama etiŋ mbuk abaŋa Ata ye abaŋa Etim
'Bassey told a story about Ata and about Etim'

Observe that the deletion of a common Prep or QVB in a Comp-Phrase co-ordination is similar to the deletion of a common NP modifier in an NP co-ordination (cf.3.6).

However, verbs, adjectives, and sentences are not conjoinable by ye, as the /

the following are ungrammatical:

(105)a. *Ami ɲka ye ɲkut ekpo oro : 'I went and saw the ghost'
1 2 3 4 5 6 1 2 3 4 5 5

(105)b. *Arit edi ediye ye anyan owo: 'Arit is a pretty and tall girl'
1 2 3 4 1 2 3 4

(105)c. *Mmɔ ema ediomi ye mmɔ ema eyip inɔ : 'They conspired and stole'
1 2 3 1 2 3

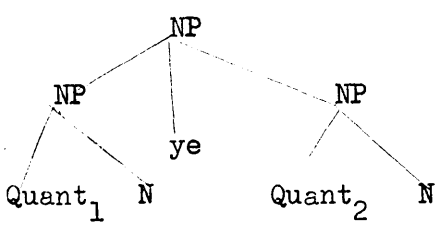
It is significant that verbs and adjectives cannot be conjoined by ye since this provides yet another evidence for the hypothesis that adjectives are in fact verbals. The fact that verb phrases and sentences cannot be con-:joined by ye strongly supports our analysis of conjuncts of ye as phrasally generated.

There are, however, some restrictions on the conjuncts of ye. In Chapter Three (3.6) it was observed that identical modifiers of constituent NPs may be deleted in accordance with the following principles:

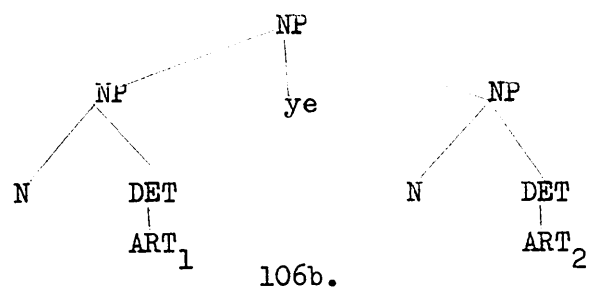
(a) If the modifier is a pre-nominal modifier, then it is the modifier of the first constituent NP which is undeleted;

(b) If the modifier is, however, a post-nominal one, then it is the modifier of the last constituent NP which is undeleted.

Thus given the structures such as 106a and 106b, where $Quant_1$ and $Quant_2$ are identical and where ART_1 and ART_2 are also identical,



106a.



106b.

$Quant_2$ may be deleted but not $Quant_1$ in accordance with principle (a), and ART_1 may be deleted but not ART_2 in accordance with principle (b). These principles may be more formally stated as (107):

(107) Given a co-ordination of NPs A, B, C...N and an identical non-nominal constituent X of A, B, C...N, where X is not EMPH, all occurrences of X may be deleted except for the first one, if it is a /

a left branching constituent, or for the last one if it is a right branching constituent.

(107) accounts for the deletions in the (b) examples in 108-113. The (a) and (b) examples are of course paraphrases.

(108)a.Bassey eyedep ebot iba ye unen iba:'Bassey will buy two goats and two hens'

(108)b.Bassey eyedep ebot ye unen iba:'Bassey will buy two goats and hens'

(109)a. Akparawa oro ye ŋkaiferi oro edian ndɔ

'The young man and the girl are married'

(109)b.Akparawa ye ŋkaiferi oro edian ndɔ:'The young man and girl are married'

(110)a.Eka esie ye ete esie esioŋo ndɔ:'His mother and his father are divorced'

(110)b.Eka ye ete esie esioŋo ndɔ: 'His mother and father are divorced'

(111)a. Ikpaŋ emi ŋkedepde ye ikwa emi ŋkedepde ebiara

'The spoon which I bought and the knife which I bought are spoiled'

(111)b. Ikpaŋ ye ikwa emi ŋkedepde ebiara:'The spoon and the knife which I bought are spoiled'

(112)a.Anie Okon ye anie Bassey ke oyom?:'Which Okon and which Bassey do you want?'

(112)b.Anie Okon ye Bassey ke oyom?:'Which Okon and Bassey do you want?'

(113)a. Ita ke otu ebot oro ye ita ke otu unen oro esop

'Three of the goats and three of the hens are lost'

(113)b.Ita ke otu ebot ye unen oro esop:'Three of the goats and hens are lost'

(107) also predicts that (114b) is not derived from (114a):

(114)a. Arit ke idem esie ye Etim ke idem esie inemke esit

'Arit herself and Etim himself are not happy'

(114)b.*Arit ye Etim ke idem esie inemke esit

'Arit herself and Etim himself are not happy'

In addition to obeying the above principle, conjoined NPs must be in the same case in case analysis, thus (115a), for example, is ungrammatical but (115b) is not

(115)a. /

(115)a.*Mma oro enyene okuk ke ufɔk ye bank:'The lady has money in the house and a bank'

(115)b. Mma oro enyene okuk ke ufɔk ye ke bank:
'The lady has money in the house and in the bank'

where ke ufɔk is locative and bank is apparently objective in (115a). (115a) would be grammatical in an interpretation in which the ke preceding bank is understood to be deleted, that is bank is in fact locative just as ke ufɔk.

It should be observed that the above observations lend further support to our claim that conjuncts of ye be phrasally derived.

It could, however, be argued that the ambiguity of sentences like (116) below requires that conjuncts of ye be sometimes sententially derived:

(116) Ata ye Okon edia udia : 'Ata and Okon are eating'

In one interpretation (116) could mean that Ata and Okon are eating together but in another it could mean that Ata and Okon are eating differently or separately. Of course the ambiguity of (116) can be resolved without resort to sentence conjunction, namely by the use of the adjunct kiet or nsio-nsio, neither of which involves sentential sources, as in these examples:

(117)a. Ata ye Okon edia udia kiet:'Ata and Okon are eating together'

(117)b. Ata ye Okon edia udia nsio-nsio:'Ata and Okon are eating separately'

In fact to show that the ambiguity of (116) is resolved by phrasal con-:junction on the one hand and sentence conjunction on the other, presu-:mably one would have to derive (117b) from a structure underlying (118) below:

(118) Ata adia udia , Okon onyuŋ adia udia ŋko:'Ata is eating, Okon is also eating'

Clearly (118) cannot be interpreted as a true paraphrase of (117b) (nor of 117a). In the first place it is as ambiguous as (116). Secondly, it asserts an aspect which neither interpretation of (116) does, namely that Okon /

Okon is eating just as Ata does, implying perhaps the former should not be bothered, any more than the latter.

If (116) cannot be interpreted as (118) for a semantic reason, it cannot either be interpreted as (119), for a syntactic reason, namely that ye does not conjoin S's, as we have already pointed out.

(119) *Ata adia udia ye Okon adia udia:'Ata is eating and Okon is eating'

So once again there appears to be no basis for sentential sources of conjuncts of ye.

But if there are apparently no bases for deriving conjuncts of ye from sentences sources, there are still more reasons for deriving them as phrasally conjoined. Consider (120a):

(120)a. Ata ye Okon edia udia enyuŋ enem idem esit
1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9

'Ata and Okon have eaten and are happy'
1 2 3 ----4,5--- 6 7,8,9

where both ye and nyuŋ occur in the same sentence. Clearly it is unviable both syntactically and semantically to derive (120a) from the structure underlying (120b):

(120)b.Ata adia udia onyuŋ enem idem esit, Okon onyuŋ adia udia onyuŋ enem
1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9 10 11 12 13
idem esit
14 15

'Ata has eaten and is happy, Okon has also eaten and is happy'
1 ---2,3--- 4 --5,6,7- 8 9 10,11 12 -13,14,15

The most plausible thing therefore, in our opinion, is to analyse Ata ye Okon as phrasally conjoined and enyuŋ itself as conjoining sentences in (120a)

Next, the conjunction involving such 'relational' NPs as nditɔ-eka (brothers) and ufan (friends) in (121) below reinforces the arguments for phrasal derivation of conjuncts of ye.

(121)a.Effiong ye Bassey edi nditɔ-eka:'Effiong and Bassey are brothers'

(121)b. Ata ye Ime edi ufan : 'Ata and Ime are friends'

If the conjuncts of ye were sententially derived, then (121) would be derived /

derived from structures underlying (122):

(122)a. *Effiong edi eyen-eka, Bassey onyuŋ edi eyen eka
'Effiong is a brother, Bassey is also a brother'

(122)b. Ata edi ufan, Ime onyuŋ edi ufan:'Ata is a friend and Ime is a friend'

But (122a) is ungrammatical while (122b) does not paraphrase (121b).

Finally, conjoined NPs, as can be seen from the examples given so far, are a sub-set of plural NPs and they behave very much like single plural NPs. In English, Dougherty (1970) has shown that conjoined NPs belong to a class of plural NPs which he calls 'semantic non-singulars'.

There is, however, a problem with deriving all conjoined NPs phrasally. Consider (123a) for example:

(123)a. Bassey ye Ime etɔhɔ ye kiet eken:'Bassey and Ime have quarrelled with each other'
1 2 3 4 5 6 7 1 2 3 4 5 6 7

Now if we derive all conjuncts of ye phrasally, it will be difficult, apparently, to derive the above sentence since (123b) cannot be said to underlie (123a):

(123)b. *Bassey ye Ime etɔhɔ ye Bassey ye Ime
'Bassey and Ime have quarrelled with Bassey and Ime'

which in fact underlies (123c):

(123)c. Bassey ye Ime etɔhɔ ye idem mmɔ:'Bassey and Ime have quarrelled with themselves'

Although (123a) and (123c) are in fact paraphrases, this is only in one interpretation of the latter, for a situation could arise where Bassey could quarrel with himself and Ime with himself too. In spite of this, the solution does not lie in sentence sources of (123d) kind below to generate (123a):

(123)d. Bassey ɔtɔhɔ ye Ime, Ime onyuŋ ɔtɔhɔ ye Bassey ŋko
'Bassey has quarrelled with Ime and Ime has quarrelled with Bassey also'

for the same syntactic and semantic objections we have raised before. It seems /

seems therefore the solution to the reciprocation problem must lie elsewhere. We will discuss this in the section on reflexivization and reciprocation (cf.5.5).

So far, we have been considering what we consider to be conjoined NPs. As we have already pointed out, ye conjoins NPs. We want to say, however, that there are cases in which ye cannot be regarded as a conjoining element but as showing another kind of relationship with other elements of the sentence. Consider (124) for example:

(124)a. Ami ŋkesaŋa ye Bassey : 'I went with Bassey'
1 2 3 4 1 2 3 4

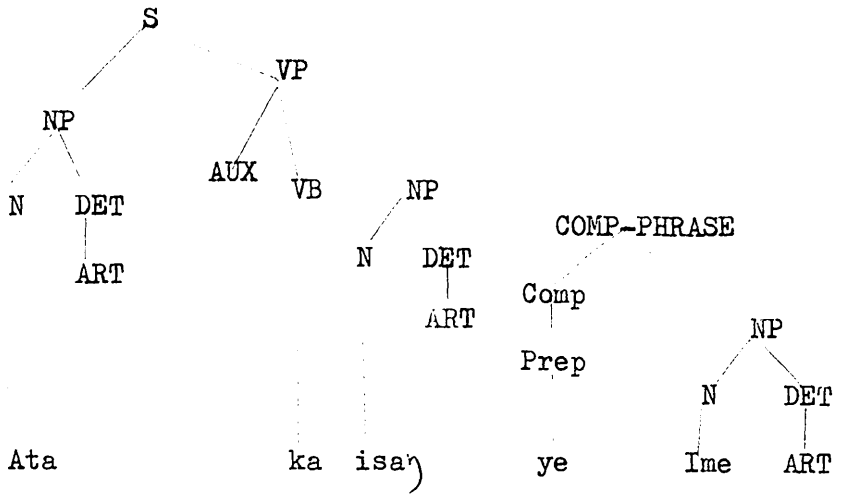
(124)b. Enye esidia udia ye fɔk : 'He eats with a fork'

where ye are clearly prepositional in function. In (124a) ye indicates the comitative case while in (124b) it indicates the instrumental case. If so, we should expect (125a) and (125b) to differ semantically:

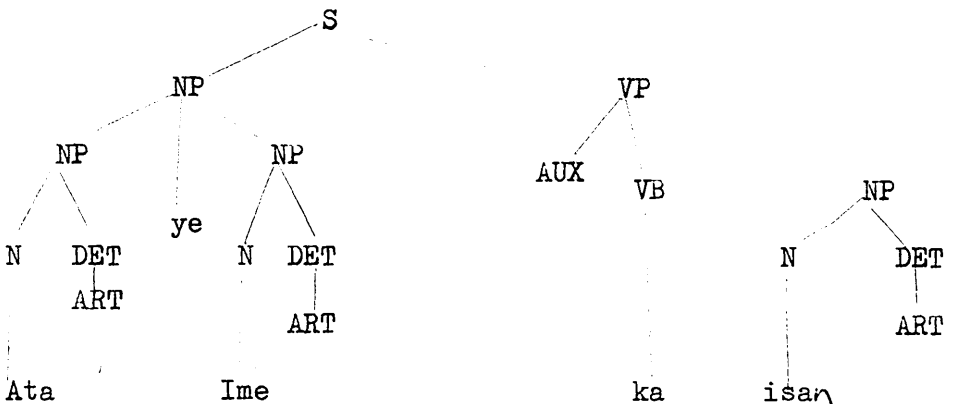
(125)a. Ata aka isaŋ ye Ime : 'Ata went with Ime on a journey'

(125)b. Ata ye Ime eka isaŋ : 'Ata and Ime went on a journey'

Indeed (125a) and (125b) do differ. In (125a) the speaker is asserting that Ata is the principal actor while Ime merely follows him. Thus ye functions here not as a conjoining element but as a preposition. In case terms, Ata would be the agent while Ime would be in the comitative case. On the other hand (125b) makes a different assertion about Ata and Ime. They both are principal actors on the journey together. Both are of course in the same agentive case. These differences in interpretation correspond to differences in the underlying representations of the two sentences in (125) as shown in figures 126a and 126b respectively.



126a.



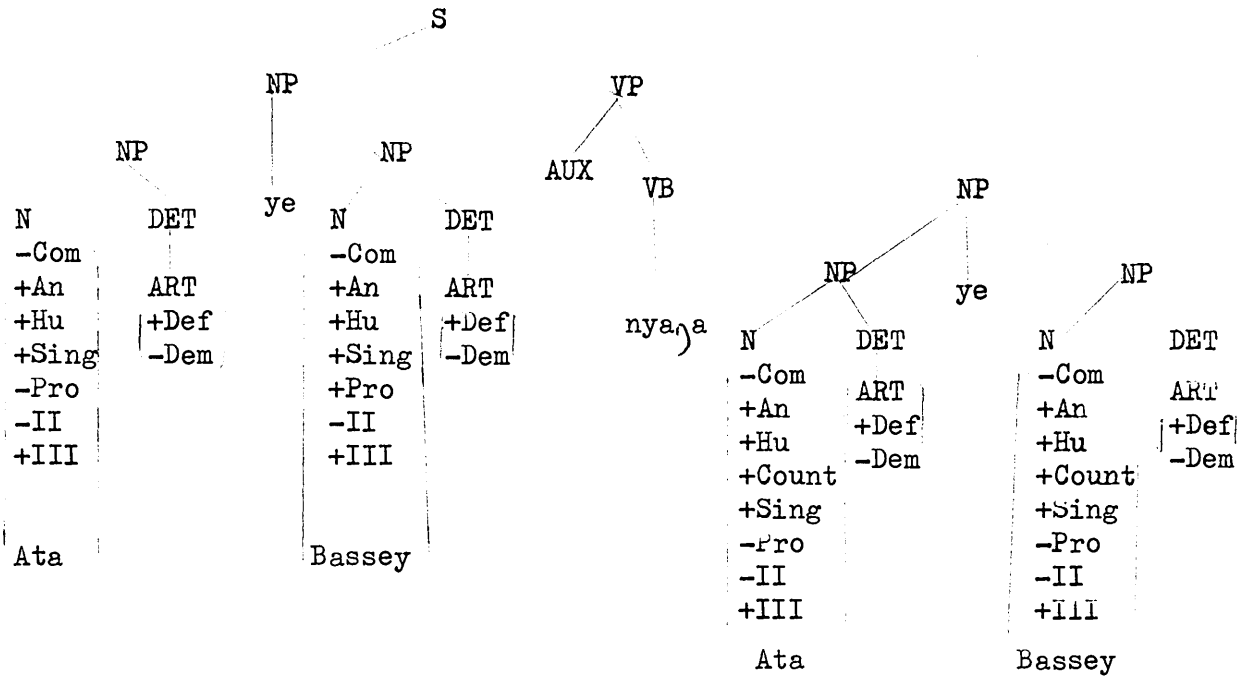
126b.

It is now time to consider reflexivization in conjoined structures of the kind we have been discussing. Let us consider this example below:

(127)a. Ata ye Bassey enyan a idem mm
1 2 3 4 5 6

'Ata and Bassey have helped themselves'
1 2 3 ----4----- ---5,6---

According to our analysis, (127a) is structured as 127b

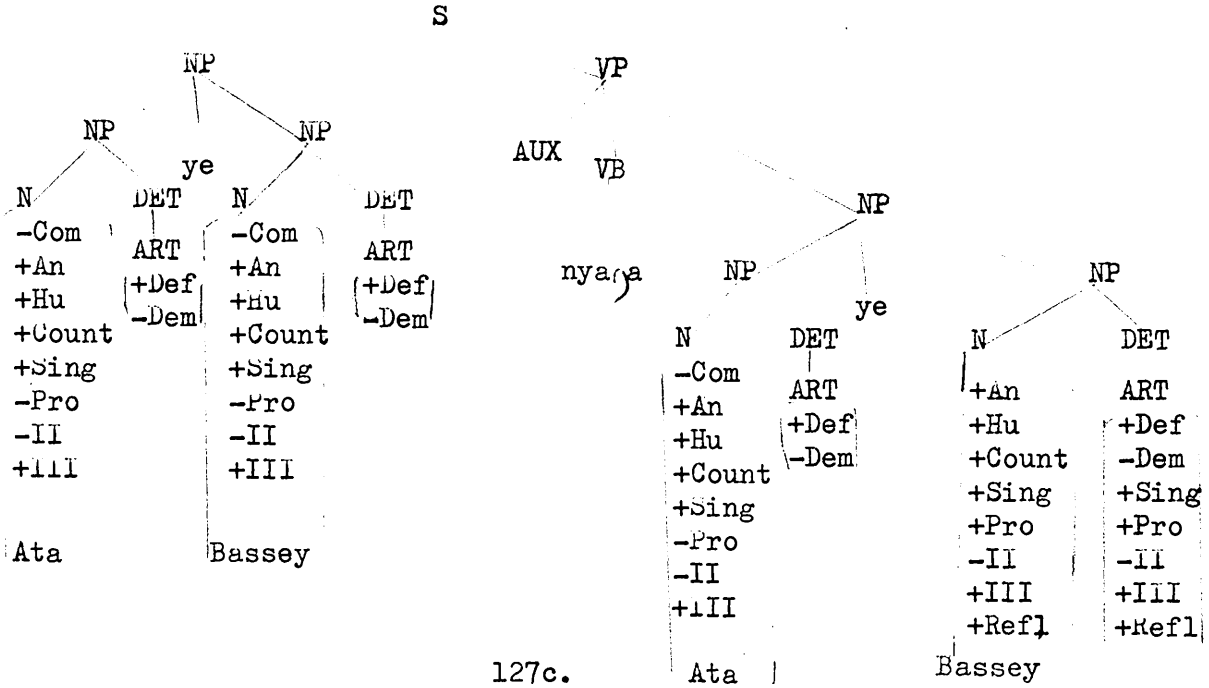


127b.

The application of reflexivization in a structure like 127b above is a tricky business. However, since conjoined simple structures do differ in some respects from non-conjoined simplex structures, reflexi-:vization applies a little differently in the former, in so far as the essential constraints are not violated. Therefore, we will require the reflexive rule to apply recursively in simplexes with conjoined NPs, so long as each pair of constituent NPs are dominated by superordinate NPs which stand in subject-object relationship and so long as the constituent NP subjects are coreferential with the constituent NP objects, as in 127b.

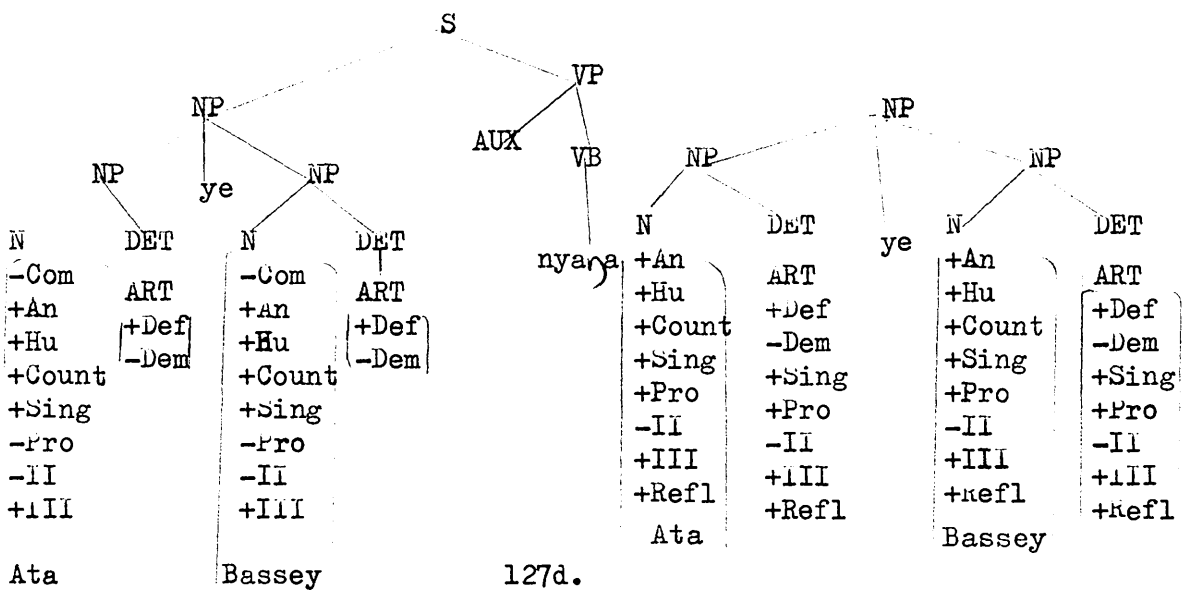
Let us now see how the rule will apply in 127b. Assuming that all morphologically identical NPs are also coreferential and that by inference conjoined coreferent NPs, such as Ata ye Bassey, are domi-:nated by coreferent superordinate NPs, such as the NPs immediately dominated by S and the VP respectively, then reflexivization will begin /

begin to apply generating 127c



127c.

As the rule is recursive and as there are yet another pair of NPs meeting the reflexivization criteria, the rule will reapply generating 127d:



127d.

Let us assume that from the features [+Sing], [+Pro], [+III] and [+Refl] on both the noun stems and determiners of the constituent NP objects, idem esie will be realised in each case. In order to derive idem mmɔ of (127a), we need a pronoun conjunction rule similar to that formulated /

formulated by Stockwell et al (1968:247), which has the effect of obligatorily deriving the plural form idem mmɔ (themselves) from idem esie ye idem esie (himself and himself). Before we show how this rule can be formulated in Efik, we wish to say that this rule is in fact empirically motivated, for we have the following:

(128)a. Ami ye afo/mbufo = nnyin
'I and you/you pl = we/us'

(128)b. Ami ye enye/mmɔ = nnyin
'I and he/she/it/they = we/us'

(129)a. Afo ye afo/mbufo = mbufo
'You and you/you pl = you'

(129)b. Afo ye enye/mmɔ = mbufo

'You and he/she/it/they = You'

I should point out that the conjoined pronouns on the left are grammatical strings and that the collapsing of the strings which results in the single pronouns on the right is optionall in such cases.

5.3.2 The Pronoun Conjunction Rule:

In Efik, the pronoun conjunction rule can be formulated as follows:

Pronoun Conjunction Rule (partly optional):

S.D.

X	N		ART		ye	N		ART		Y
	±Sing		+Def			±Sing		+Def		
	+Pro		±Sing			+Pro		±Sing		
	αRefl		−Dem			βRefl		−Dem		
	+I		αRefl			+I		βRefl		
	+II					+II				
	+III					+III				
1	2		3		4	5		6		7

Conditions:

1. Either 2 or 5 is [−I]
2. Either both 2 and 5 are [+Refl] or [−Refl]
3. Both 3 and 6 are not [+Dem]

S.C./

S.C.

Obligatory if both 2 and 5 are [+Refl], or if both 2 and 5 are [+III] and both 3 and 6 are [-Dem] and [-Refl].

Otherwise optional.

If either 2 or 5 is [+I], then (a); if both are [-I] and either is [+II], then (b); if both are [+III], then (c).

(a) 1 - 2 - 3 - ∅ - ∅ - ∅ - 7

$$\begin{bmatrix} -\text{Sing} \\ +\text{Pro} \\ \alpha\text{Refl} \\ \beta\text{I} \end{bmatrix} \quad \begin{bmatrix} -\text{Sing} \\ +\text{Dem} \\ \alpha\text{Refl} \\ \beta\text{I} \end{bmatrix}$$

(b) 1 - 2 - 3 - ∅ - ∅ - ∅ - 7

$$\begin{bmatrix} -\text{Sing} \\ +\text{Pro} \\ \alpha\text{Refl} \\ \beta\text{II} \end{bmatrix} \quad \begin{bmatrix} -\text{Sing} \\ -\text{Dem} \\ \alpha\text{Refl} \\ \beta\text{II} \end{bmatrix}$$

(c) 1 - 2 - 3 - ∅ - ∅ - ∅ - 7

$$\begin{bmatrix} -\text{Sing} \\ +\text{Pro} \\ \alpha\text{Refl} \\ \beta\text{III} \end{bmatrix} \quad \begin{bmatrix} -\text{Sing} \\ -\text{Dem} \\ \alpha\text{Refl} \\ \beta\text{III} \end{bmatrix}$$

Notes:

(i) If the first condition is not met the result will be the gene-:ration of nnyin (we/us) from such ungrammatical strings as *ami ye ami (I and I), *ami ye nnyin (I and we) and *nnyin ye nnyin (we and we). But the condition does not necessarily imply that the above strings are ungrammatical, thus we will probably need another constraint to do this job. *Nnyin ye nnyin (we and we) should not be confused with nnyin nnyin (we we) which is a reduplication of nnyin.

(ii) Condition 2 prevents the rule from applying to a string like Ata ama mi ye idem esie (Ata likes me and himself) to derive *Ata ama idem nnyin (Ata loves ourselves).

(iii) Condition 3 does not allow the collapsing of enye emi ye enye oko (this one and that one yonder), though *enye ye enye obligatorily becomes mmɔ (they).

(iv) The rule optionally changes ami ye afo to nnyin, afo ye enye to /

to mbufo (you pl), for example; and idem fo ye idem esie (your-:self and himself) to idem mbufo (yourselves), for example, obligatorily.

(v) Morphophonemically an N which is [-Sing], [+Pro], [+Refl] becomes idem (self) and an ART which is [-Sing], [-Dem], [+Refl], [+III] becomes mmɔ (their). If, however, the N is [-Sing], [+Pro], [-Refl], [+III], for example, it is realised as mmɔ (they). We will return to this in the Chapter on pronominalization, when we will discuss in detail what the rule does to the phrase marker on which it operates.

After the pronoun conjunction (or should we say collapsing) rule has applied to Ata ye Bassey enyaŋa idem esie ye idem esie (Ata and Bassey have helped himself and himself) (127a), which I repeat below, will be generated:

(127)a. Ata ye Bassey enyaŋa idem mmɔ: 'Ata and Bassey have helped themselves'

5.3.3 Conjuncts of Nyuŋ:

As in the case of ye, conjuncts of nyuŋ (i.e. categories - S's in this case - conjoined by nyuŋ) will not be considered in any detail, since our primary concern is with reflexivization.

In Chapter Two (cf.2.10) we came across elements which are partially verbal in character but which vary in functions. Nyuŋ is one such element. Syntactically it behaves like a verb in that, among other things, it agrees in number and person with the subject of the sentence, as in (130):

(130)a. Arit okpon onyuŋ eye : 'Arit is big and pretty'
1 2 3 1 2 3

(130)b. Nnyin ima ika inyuŋ ikekut enye : 'We went and saw him'
1 2 3 4 5 1 2 3 4 5

where onyuŋ and inyuŋ agree with Arit and nnyin in (130a) and (130b) respectively. Functionally, as it seems now pretty clear, nyuŋ con-:joins or co-ordinates sentences. Thus in (130) the pairs of sentences Arit /

Arit okpon (Arit is big) and Arit eye (Arit is pretty) in (a); and nnyin ima ika (we went) and nnyin ikekut enye (we saw him) in (b) are co-ordinated in one S each.

If nyuŋ co-ordinates only S's, then we should expect the following sentences to be ill-formed, as indeed they are:

(131)a. *Effiong onyuŋ Bassey eka : 'Effiong and Bassey have gone'

(131)b. *Nnyin iyom Bassey inyuŋ Ata : 'We want Bassey and Ata'

(132)a. *Ada oro ama odu ke Uyo onyuŋ Calabar
1 2 3 4 5
'The lad had stayed at Uyo and Calabar'
2 1 3 4 5

(132)b. *Enye adia udia ke ikpaŋ onyuŋ ikwa
1 2 3 4 5 6 7
'He is eating with a spoon and knife'
1 2,3 4 5 6 7

(131) and (132) show that NPs and Comp-Phrases cannot be co-ordinated by nyuŋ. Indeed, as has been pointed out above, this function is performed by ye.

5.3.4 Constraints on Nyuŋ Co-ordination:

As in the case of ye, there are some constraints on co-ordination involving nyuŋ. First, the constituent sentences co-ordinated by nyuŋ must either be all positive sentences or negative sentences, thus (133) are ungrammatical but (134) are grammatical:

(133)a. *Enye ama okut mi inyuŋ ikɔmke ŋko: 'He saw me and did not greet me'
1 2 3 4 5 6 1 2 3 4 5

(133)b. *Nnyin ikiyom Okon inyuŋ ikutke enye
1 2 3
'We looked for Okon and did not see him'
1 2 3

(134)a. Enye ikekutke mi ikenyuŋ ikɔmke mi ŋko
'He did not see me and did not greet me'

(134)b. Nnyin ikiyomke Okon ikenyuŋ ikutke enye
'We did not look for Okon and didn't see him'

Secondly, it appears conjuncts of nyuŋ must either have a common subject or /

or a common VP, thus the conjoined sentences in (131) and (134) above have a common subject, and (135) below each has a common VP:

(135)a. Effiong eyekut iban oro, Okon ŋko eyenyuŋ okut mmɔ
1 2 3 4 5 6 7

'Effiong will see the women and Okon will also see them'
1 3 2 5 4 6 7

(135)b. Ami mmaha mmɔ, ŋwan mi ŋko inyuŋ imaha mmɔ
1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9

'I don't like them, my wife too doesn't like them'
1 2 3 5 4 6 8 9

However, the commonest and most natural use of nyuŋ is in cases where the constituent sentences have a common subject. Conjoined sentences with each conjunct having either a common object or a common VB do not appear to involve the use of nyuŋ, as (136) show:

(136)a. Ami ndia ukom, edi Bassey (adia) bia
1 2 3 4 5

'I am eating plantains but Bassey (is eating) yams'
1 2 3 4 5

(136)b. Ime ama edep ŋwed, ndien ami ŋkot
1 2 3 4 5

'Ime bought a book, then I read it'
1 2 3 4 5

where in (a) the conjuncts share a common VB while in (b) the conjuncts there share a common object, which is deleted in the second conjunct.

The above constraints on nyuŋ co-ordination could be stated as deep structure constraints since they centre around the notion of subject in the deep sense, and categories like the VP and NEG, both of which occur in the base.

5.3.5 Deletions in Nyuŋ Co-ordinations:

It was pointed out in 2.10 that nyuŋ may be deleted. Thus (137b) is derived from (137a) by such deletion:

(137)a. Bassey eyebɔ okuk onyuŋ edep moto:'Bassey will borrow money and buy a car'
1 2 3 4 1 2 3 4

(137)b. /

(137)b.Bassey eyebɔ okuk edep moto:'Bassey will borrow money and buy a car'

It is nyuŋ deletion of this kind that gives sentences like (137b) the superficial appearance of serial construction. It will be recalled that in 2.10 nyuŋ was used as a test for compound or co-ordinate sen-:tences in cases where a simple sentence appears to have two verbs. Thus a sentence like (138a) is in fact a co-ordination of two sentences because it can be paraphrased as (138b):

(138)a. Ime ama otop itiat ɔtɔ mi :'Ime threw a stone at me'
---1---- 2 3 4 1 2 3 4

(138)b. Ime ama otop itiat onyuŋ ɔtɔ mi :'Ime threw a stone and hit me'

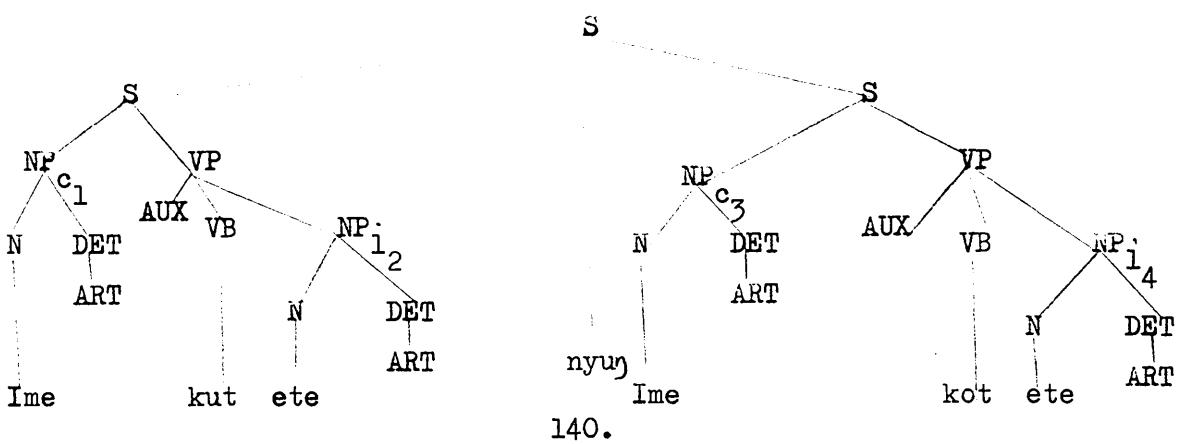
where in Efik both sentences imply that the stone actually hit the speaker.

It is not only nyuŋ that can be deleted in nyuŋ co-ordination. Of particular relevance to pronominalization is the deletion of the sub-:ject of the second constituent sentence, as can be seen from (137) and (138). Such a deletion has to take place for these examples (i.e. 137 and 138) to be generated. This means that a sentence such as (139a) is derived from a structure underlying (139b):

(139)a.Ime ama okut ete oro onyuŋ okot:'Ime saw the man and invited him'
---1---- 2 3 4 5 1 3 2 4 5

(139)b.*Ime ama okut ete oro Ime onyuŋ okot: 'Ime saw the man and Ime invited him'

Let us assume that the structure underlying (139b) can be represented as the following diagram, omitting details:



To /

To generate (139a) from 140, NP_3, the subject of the second constituent S, is deleted obligatorily, while NP_4, the object of this same con-:stituent S, is optionally deleted. In other words (141) below is synonymous with (139a):

(141) Ime ama okut ete oro onyuŋ okot enye: 'Ime saw the man and invited him'

It is pertinent at this juncture to recall a rule formulated by Koutsoudas (1971:347) for deleting identical constituents in a co-ordination. The rule, which is not specific to English, is called Co-ordination Deletion and is informally stated thus:

> "Given a co-ordination in which each conjunct includes a constituent which is identical to the corresponding constituent of each other conjunct, all but one of these identical constituents may be deleted, the undeleted constituent being that of the first conjunct, if it is a left branching constituent, and that of the last, if it is a right branching constituent".

Although this rule correctly deletes the subject of the second sentence conjunct in structures underlying (137) and (138), it wrongly predicts that in 140 it is the object of the second conjunct which is undeleted, since it is a right branching constituent. We should point out that 140 is not an isolated case. In general in a structure like that (which also includes structures underlying <u>edi</u> (but) and <u>mme</u> (or) sentences (cf.5.3)), the object of the second or last conjunct is deleted optionally. The rule also wrongly predicts what could be deleted in the following examples:

(142)a. Ata imaha ŋkaiferi oro, Okon ŋko inyuŋ imaha enye
$\quad\quad\quad

the identical objects can be, as (142c) with enye deleted is perfectly grammatical:

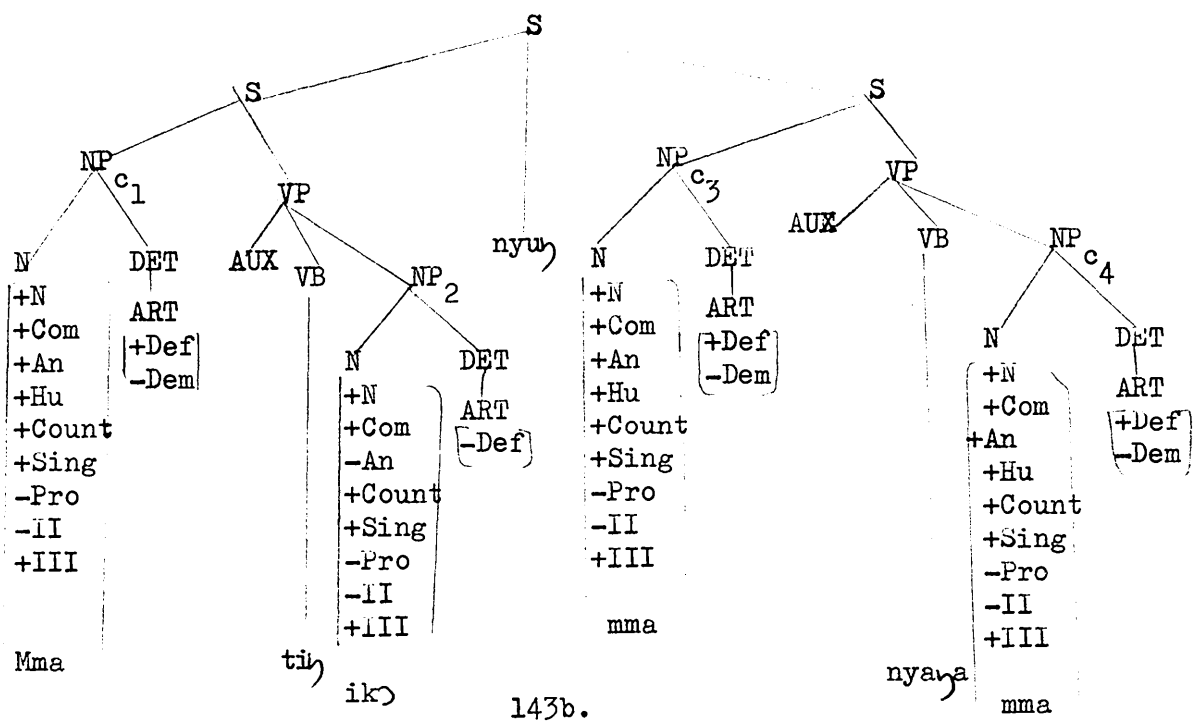
(142)c. Ata imaha ŋkaiferi oro, Okon ŋko inyuŋ imaha
'Ata doesn't like that girl, Okon too doesn't like her'

Again it is the right branching constituent in the last conjunct which is deleted, in violation of Koutsoudas' rule. The deletion of pronouns such as enye will be discussed in Chapter Six.

5.3.6 Reflexivization in Nyuŋ Conjuncts:

Let us now consider how reflexivization operates in co-ordinate structures involving nyuŋ. Let us consider (143a), for example, which is structured like 143b:

(143)a. Mma oro ama etiŋ ikɔ onyuŋ anyaŋa idem esie
1 2 ---3--- 4 5 6 7 8
'The lady talked and helped herself'
2 1 --3,4- 5 6 8 7



143b.

From 143b, it can be seen that reflexivization in a co-ordination involving nyuŋ is after all not very complicated, though nyuŋ itself is a tricky morpheme. Since the second or right branching S is a proper /

proper analysis for reflexivization, the rule will apply as usual changing the feature -Pro on the N of NP_4 to +Pro and adding the feature +Refl. Then the features +Pro, +III, +Sing, +Refl are copied onto the ART of the same NP. Later the entire NP will become idem esie and the intermediate structure (143c) generated:

(143)c. *Mma ART AUX tiŋ ikɔ ART nyuŋ mma ART nyaŋa idem esie

As we will see in Chapter Six (cf.6.4.1) NP_3 will be pronominalized by coreference with NP_1 and then deleted obligatorily by the Pronoun Deletion, which is also discussed in that Chapter. When this NP is deleted, then (143a) above will be generated.

Perhaps we should point out that sentences such as (144a) below are derived like (143a), except that nyuŋ is optionally deleted in the case of (144a) (cf.5.3.5 above).

(144)a.Arit edep ŋwed ɔnɔ idem esie:'Arit has bought a book for/and given herself'
1 2 3

As (144a) is derived from (144b) below, it seems fairly straightforward that both (143) and (144) are derived by the same rules, except for the additional deletion of nyuŋ in the latter case.

(144)b.Arit edep ŋwed onyuŋ ɔnɔ idem esie
'Arit has bought a book and given herself'

Note that nyuŋ in (143a) is also deletable, as (145) below is synonymous with (143a):

(145) Mma oro ama etiŋ ikɔ anyaŋa idem esie:'The lady talked and helped herself'

Once again evidence so far available shows that reflexivization in Efik is limited to the simplex.

5.4 Reflexivization and Emphasis:

It is commonly recognised that reflexive pronouns such as idem esie (himself) and superficially similar forms such as ke idem esie (himself) in /

in (146a) and (146b) respectively are different elements in spite of their similarity:

(146)a. Bassey imaha idem esie :'Bassey doesn't like himself'

(146)b. Bassey ke idem esie imaha enye:'Bassey himself doesn't like him'

For instance, Moyne (1971) has shown that reflexive pronouns and emphatics must have different derivations. We want to say that in Efik there is enough evidence to suggest that reflexive pronouns and emphatics, though similar in forms, are properly derived differently.

For our purposes we will use the term intensifiers instead of emphatics, for instances where the emphatic elements take the form of the reflexive, as in (146b) and reserve the term emphatics for emphasis in general. As emphasis in general is not our concern here, we will not discuss it. Our main purpose in the following sections is to examine forms which look like reflexive pronouns but which we think are best analysed as intensifiers, or as possessives involving the use of the lexical item idem (body).

5.4.1 Intensifiers:

Within the standard theory, it is assumed that reflexivization is a process that involves the subject and the object of a verb, where object must be understood to include not only direct objects, but also indirect objects as well as Prep or QVB NPs. That is in sentences like (147) the reflexive pronouns must occupy the object position in a language like Efik with a S V O (Subject, Verb, Object) pattern.

(147)a.Ata ekesin idem esie ẁed:'Ata put himself through school'
1 2 3 4 1 3 2 4

(147)b.Ndiṭɔ oro efre idem mmɔ:'Those children have forgotten themselves'
1 2 3 4 5 2 1 ----3--------- 5 4

Here idem esie and idem mmɔ are objects of (147a) and (147b) respectively. However, consider the following examples:

(148)a. /

(148)a. Ami ke idem mmi nnyesobo enye:'I myself will meet him'
1 2 3 4 5 6 1 -2,3,4 ----5---- 6

(148)b. Ima ama okut mi ke idem esie : 'Ima saw me herself'
---1---- 2 3 4 5 1 2 -3,4,5-

In (148a) ke idem mmi must refer to, or be an adjunct of, ami. Since ami is subject itself, ke idem mmi must also be part of that subject. In (148b) ke idem esie refers to Ima even though it is nearer the object of the sentence mi than Ima, which is the subject. That is (148b) must be derived from (149) below:

(149) Ima ke idem esie ama okut mi : 'Ima herself saw me'

In (148) the intensified NPs are subjects. Now consider (150a), where the intensified NP is object:

(150)a. Nnyin iyom Okon ke idem esie : 'We want Okon himself'
1 1

Unlike in (148b), or (148a) for that matter, the intensifier ke idem esie in (150a) cannot be moved about - in this case to the front - as (150b), where this movement has taken place, is ungrammatical:

(150)b. *Nnyin iyom ke idem esie Okon : 'We want himself Okon'

However, the entire NP (i.e. Okon + ke idem esie) could be moved to the front, as in this example:

(150)c.Okon ke idem esie ke nnyin iyom: 'It is Okon himself that we want'

In some cases, the presence of an intensifier may result in ambiguity. Consider this example:

(151)a. Enye imaha Bassey ke idem esie:'He doesn't like Bassey himself' where ke idem esie may either refer to enye, the subject of the sentence, or Bassey, the object. In other words, (151a) may be interpreted as (151b):

(151)b. Enye ke idem esie imaha Bassey :'He himself doesn't like Bassey'

The examples in (148)-(151) show that the intensifier differs from the reflexive pronoun in two significant ways. First, as we have already seen, the reflexive must be the object of the simplex in which it occurs /

occurs but in the case of the intensifier, it must be a part of either the subject or the object; in short, the intensifier is apart of the NP intensified, irrespective of the functional notion of that NP. Second, whereas the reflexive cannot be moved from its object position, as the ungrammaticality of (152) shows:

(152) *Ami idem mi mfre : 'I myself forget'

the intensifier may be moved in some cases, as we have just seen above. Of course the ungrammaticality merely emphasises the fact that the reflexive pronoun is an object NP, since object NPs in general resist movement, except in cases involving topicalization such as in (150), where the entire object Okon + ke idem esie was moved to the front. Even this kind of movement is apparently not allowed, if the object is a reflexive pronoun, as the ungrammaticality of this sentence shows:

(153) *Idem mmi ke mfre : 'It is myself that I forget'

There are other differences between the reflexive pronoun and the intensifier. Consider the following:

(154)a. Bassey ama anyaŋa idem esie :'Bassey helped himself'

(154)b. Bassey ama anyaŋa idem : 'Bassey helped himself'

(155)a. Eyen oro ke idem esie akabiat okpokoro oro
1 2 3 4 5

'The boy himself destroyed the table'
2 1 3 5 4

(155)b.*Eyen oro ke idem akabiat okpokoro oro:'The boy himself destroyed the table'

The PD of the reflexive pronoun is optionally deletable, as we have already pointed out (cf.5.1 above) and as (154) show, but the PD of the intensifier is not deletable, as the ungrammaticality of (155b) shows.

Fourth, the reflexive pronoun is more restricted in occurrence than the intensifier. Consider the following examples, keeping in mind that the reflexive pronoun is of the form idem + PD while the intensifier is of /

of the form ke + idem + PD:

(156)a. Ami nnyeka ke idem mmi : 'I will go by myself'

(156)b. *Ami nnyeka idem mmi : 'I will go myself'

(157)a. Bassey ke idem esie enyime : 'Bassey himself has agreed'

(157)b. *Bassey enyime idem esie : 'Bassey has agreed himself'

(158)a. Ima ke idem esie [illegible]: 'Ima herself is tall'

(158)b. *Ima [illegible] idem esie : 'Ima talls herself'

where the (a) sentences contain intensifiers and the (b) ones reflexive pronouns. (156)-(158) are enough to illustrate how far less restricted than the reflexive pronoun is the intensifier in occurrence with verbs. With certain categories of verbs, notably those which are intransitive, the reflexive pronoun is not permissible, naturally, as the (b) examples show.

Fifth, the subject of a reflexive sentence may be deleted, but where the subject of a sentence is intensified, the nominal head of that subject NP cannot be deleted, as the following examples show:

(159)a. Ami ke mkpep idem mmi ndiwat moto: 'I am teaching myself to drive a car'

(159)b. Ke mkpep idem mmi ndiwat moto: 'I am teaching myself to drive a car'

(160)a. Ami ke idem mmi ke mkpep ndiwat moto
'I myself I am learning to drive'

(160)b. *Ke idem mmi ke mkpep ndiwat moto: 'Myself learning to drive'

where the ungrammaticality of (160b) arises from the deletion of the nominal head ami.

Finally, whereas the reflexive pronoun is restricted to the simplex, as has already been demonstrated, the intensifier may transcend the simplex, though at the surface level, as (161) shows:

(161) Ami nnyesobo Ata edieke enye edide ke idem mmi
'I will meet Ata if he comes myself'

where /

where ami, the nominal head, and ke idem mmi, its intensifier, are in different S configurations.

In addition to the above massive differences between the two kinds of elements, there is also a semantic difference. The intensifier stresses the fact that a particular person or thing and not some other person or thing is the agent, dative, object, etc., to use case grammar terms, whereas reflexivization indicates that an individual's action affects the individual in one way or another.

From all the above facts, we conclude that though the intensifier is similar in form to the reflexive, it is in fact not a kind of reflexive. As our analysis of the NP shows, the intensifier is in fact a constituent of the NP.

5.4.2 The So-Called Picture Nouns:

In English, sentences such as the following are considered as reflexive sentences:

(162)a. John saw a picture of himself

(162)b. Mary told a story about herself

Some attempts have been made to analyse himself and herself in the above sentences within the general framework of reflexivization. Thus Jackendoff (1968;14ff and 1972:135) suggests that the $\bar{N}$ analysis of Chomsky (1970) would offer a solution to the derivation of reflexives connected with NPs like picture, story, which have come to be known as picture nouns.

In Efik, however, we want to say that the forms connected with the so-called picture nouns are not in fact reflexive pronouns derived as a result of reflexivization but lexical items generated in the base. There are a number of reasons for our analysis. First, although there are /

are sentences like (163), there are also sentences like (164):

(163)a. Ami mmekut ndise idem mmi : 'I have seen a picture of myself'
1 2 3 1 ----2---- 3

(163)b. Enye eyetiˊ mbuk idem esie : 'He will tell the story of himself'
1 2 ----1---- 2

(164)a. Ami mmekut ndise idem fo : 'I have seen a picture of yourself'

(164)b. Enye eyetiˊ mbuk idem mmi: 'He will tell the story of myself'

where idem fo and ami are not coreferential in (164a) and idem mi and enye are not coreferential in (164b). Surely the sentences in (164) do not qualify as reflexive sentences in our definition and idem fo and idem mmi in these examples cannot therefore be regarded as reflexive pronouns. If so, we ought to look at similar forms in (163) with suspicion, even though they happen to be coreferential with the subject of the sentence. For if the forms in (163) were truly reflexive pronouns, then (164) ought to be ungrammatical, where these forms and the subjects of the sentences are not coreferential.

Moreover these reflexive-like forms are freely used with non-picture nouns, as in these examples:

(165)a. Nnyom okuk idem mmi : 'I want my personal money'
1 2 3 2 3 1

(165)b. Ata idige eyen idem fo: 'Ata is not your begotten child (i.e. is adopted)
1 2 3 4 --1--- 4 3 2

(165)c. Nkpɔ oro edi mbubehe idem esie: 'The thing is his own personal business'
1 2 3 4 5 6 2 1 3 6 ---5--------4

where reflexive interpretations are highly improbable. Clearly idem mmi, idem fo and idem esie in (165) are possessive in form and meaning. This interpretation of the reflexive-like forms in (164) explains the grammaticality of (164), where these elements are not coreferential with the subjects of the sentences.

Finally, and most importantly, there is tonal evidence to show that idem in (163)-(165) is a kind of possessor nominal much like ebot (goat's) in the phrase isim ebot (a goat's tail). First consider (166) which /

which are straightforward cases of possession:

(166)a. Enyɔn eto : 'A tree's top'

(166)b. Ebe eyen : 'A daughter's husband'

(166)c. Isim ebot : 'A goat's tail'

where the tones on eto, eyen and ebot are high-low. 'Inherent' tones on these items are high-high, as (167) indicate:

(167)a. Mnyesibe eto oro : 'I will cut down that tree'

(167)b. Ebot ama ata bia fo : 'A goat ate your yams'

(167)c. Arit edi eyen mi : 'Arit is my daughter'

That is the tones on eto, eyen and ebot are ordinarily high unless affected by some grammatical process or processes.

Now consider the tones on idem in (163)-(165) above. They are exactly like the tones on eto, eyen and ebot in (166), namely high-low. 'In-:herent' tones on the lexical item idem (body or self) are high-high, as in these examples:

(168)a. Idem mmi isɔnke: 'My body/self is not well (i.e. I am not well)'

(168)b. Ada oro edehe idem akaha

'That lad is very dirty in the body' (i.e. the lad is dirty)

Like the inherent tones on ebot, eto and eyen, the inherent tones on idem can be affected by some grammatical processes.

Unlike the tones on idem in (163)-(165), the tones on idem as a stem in a reflexive pronoun is always high-high, as in these examples:

(169)a. Ami ntuk idem mmi : 'I'm cheating myself'

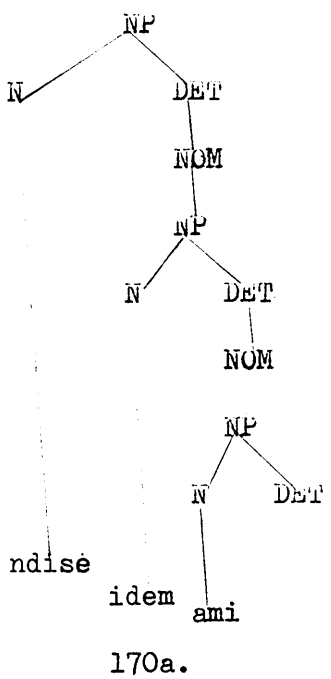
(169)b. Enye otuk idem esie : 'He is cheating himself'

(169)c. Mbufo etuk idem mbufo : 'You are cheating yourselves'

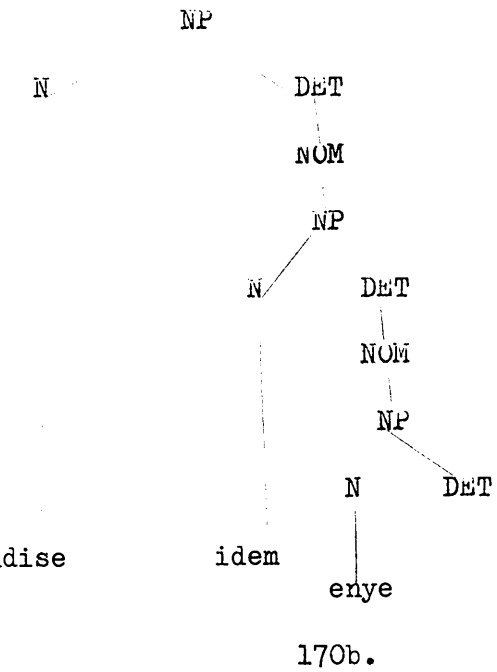
It seems pretty clear therefore that the difference in tones on idem in (163)-(165) and idem in reflexive pronouns, such as those in (169) indicates /

indicates the difference in the grammatical function of idem in the so-called picture nouns and idem in reflexive pronouns. It is right therefore that the two elements be derived differently.

Since enyɔŋ eto, ebe eyen and isim ebot in (166) involve possession, the phrases ndise idem mmi, ndise idem esie and ndise idem fo in (163) and (164) must also involve possession. The only difference is that in the latter cases, there are two possessor NPs, namely idem and personal pronouns. Accordingly, ndise idem mmi, ndise idem esie, for example, are derived from structures of the following sorts, omitting details:



170a.



170b.

In this way, the superficial similarities between reflexive pronouns and forms like idem mmi, idem esie, idem fo, etc. that follow the so-called picture nouns (and non-picture nouns too) can be explained.

5.5 The Reflexive and the Reciprocal Pronoun:

There is very little published material on reciprocal pronominalization. One of the sources often quoted on the subject is Lees and Klima (1963:156), part of which is quoted below:

"Thus /

"Thus, we see that the object <u>one another</u> is a pronominalization of its subject, and it occurs only when the subject is plural and repeated in the object. We shall say then in addition to the reflexive pronominalization transformation there is an optional rule of the following form:

(C) Reciprocal Rule (optional):

X - N+Pl - Y - N'+Pl - Z $\rightarrow$ X - N+Pl - Y - N'+Pl + Recip - Z

where N = N and they are within the same simplex, and where N is a noun, Pl is the plural morpheme, and Recip is the recipro-:cal morpheme ..."

So according to Lees and Klima in English, the reciprocal pronoun occurs as the object and is a repetition of the subject, like the reflexive pronoun. But in the case of the reciprocal pronoun, the subject must be plural.

In Efik, there are similarities too between the reflexive pronoun and the reciprocal pronoun. As in English both must occur as objects, thus (171) are grammatical but (172) are not:

(171)a. Iban oro enam idem mmɔ :'The women are harming themselves'

(171)b. Iban oro enam kiet eken : 'The women are harming each other'
1 2 3 4 5 2 1 ---3------- 4 5

(172)a.*Idem mmɔ enam iban oro : 'Themselves are harming the women'

(172)b.*Kiet eken enam iban oro : 'Each other are harming the women'

Second, like the reflexive pronoun, the reciprocal pronoun must refer to the subject of the sentence.

Third, neither the reflexive nor the reciprocal pronoun can act as the antecedent of a relative pronoun in a relative clause (cf.8.2.2) as these examples show:

(173)a.*Iban oro esobo kiet eken emi mbufo mimaha
1 2 3 4 5 6

'The women <u>have</u>1<u>met</u> 2 3 4 5 <u>-----</u>6<u>----</u>'

(173)b.* Ata ataŋ idem esie emi enye amade <u>eti</u>7<u>eti</u>
1 2 3 4 5 6

'Ata is arrogant of himself which he loves <u>very</u>7<u>much</u>'
1 3 2 4 5 6

Sometimes /

Sometimes the reciprocal takes the form of the reflexive, as in this example:

(174)a. Ɛtim ye Arit ema idem mmɔ :'Etim and Arit like each other'

(174a) is ambiguous since it could be interpreted as a reflexive sentence. Of course there is no question of ambiguity if kiet eken is used in place of idem mmɔ, as in (174b):

(174)b. Etim ye Arit ema kiet eken : 'Ɛtim and Arit like each other'

There are of course differences between the reciprocal pronoun and the reflexive pronoun. First, as in English, the subject of the reciprocal sentence must be plural, whereas that of the reflexive need not be. So (175), for example, are ungrammatical:

(175)a. *Ɛnye asua kiet eken : 'He hates each other'

(175)b. *Ata aŋwana ye kiet eken : 'Ata fights with each other'

Secondly, whereas the reflexive pronoun and the subject of the sentence must be in the same simplex, as we have already seen, this is not the case with the reciprocal pronoun, as these examples show:

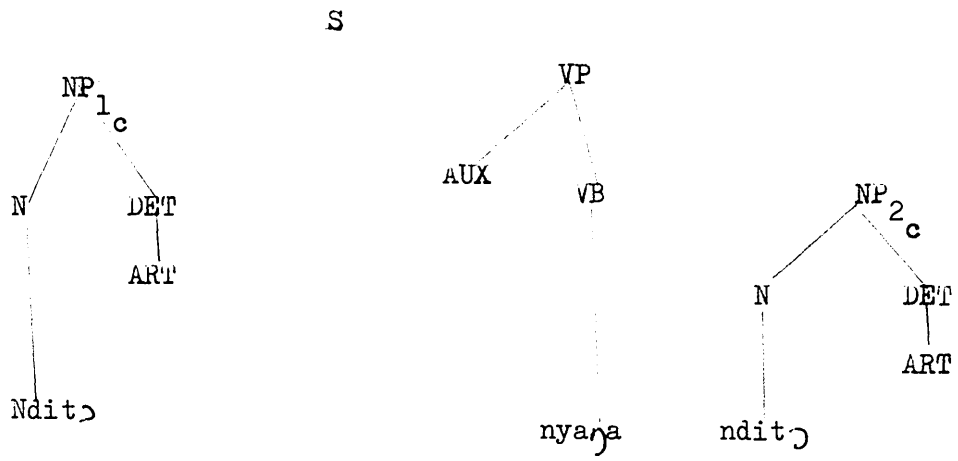
(176)a. Mmɔ eyom mi ntɔhɔ ye kiet eken:'They each want me to quarrel with the other'

(176)b. Arit ye Ima imaha fi ɔdɔ kiet eken
'Arit and Ima don't each like you to marry the other' (where Arit and Ima are girls and fi a male person)

In (176a) mmɔ and kiet eken are in different S's. Similarly in (176b) Arit ye Ima and kiet eken are in different S's.

Let us now consider how the reciprocal pronoun may be derived and let us consider (177a), which is structured as 177b, given the fact that the reciprocal pronoun refers to the subject of the sentence:

(177)a. Ndit ɔ oro enyaŋa kiet eken : 'The children have helped each other'



177b.

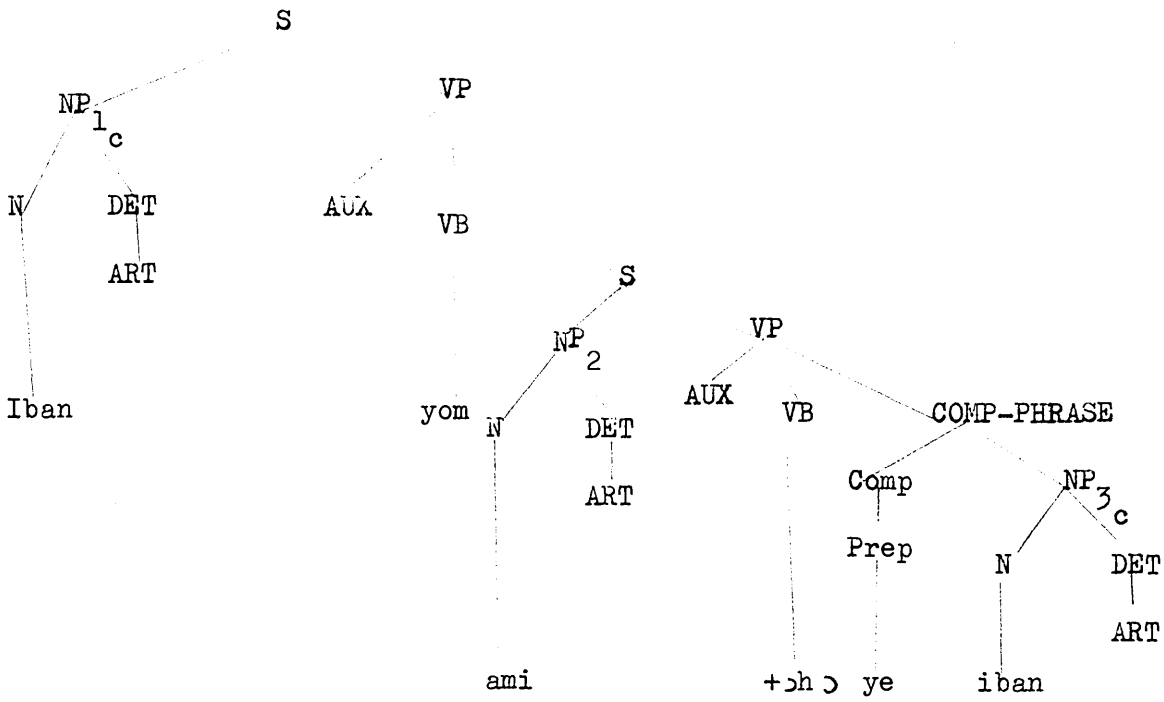
Surely a structure like 177b is a proper analysis for reflexivization as well (cf.12a and 12b in 5.1) and since reflexivization is not only obligatory but also cyclic, there would be nothing to hold it back from applying in 177b, unless there is some means of distinguishing between coreference that results in reciprocal pronominalization. Until such a means is found, under the ~~Aspects~~ theory of pronominalization[3], a sentence like (177a) cannot be generated.

Similarly a sentence like (178a) with the reciprocal kiet eken cannot be generated, since, as we will see in Chapter Six, a structure like 178b, from which (178a) could be derived, is a proper analysis for simple pronominalization.

(178)a. Iban oro eyom mi ntɔhɔ ye kiet eken
'The women each want me to quarrel with the other'

---

3. Under Jackendoff's interpretative theory this problem does not arise since kiet eken would be generated in the base. Jackendoff's (1972: 173) analysis is interesting because it captures the similarities between the reflexive pronoun and the reciprocal pronoun, as he himself says: "thus the environments of each other seem to be virtually identical to those of reflexives, and an analysis which does not capture this fact is missing an important generalization. As we have seen, a phrase-structure theory of each other combined with an interpretative theory of pronominalization can capture this generalization....In the phrase-structure theory, each other is generated within a single constituent. Thus the lexicon can list it as an idiom, with special semantic interpretation, including the feature [+refl]."



178b.

In fact 178b is a proper analysis for following sentence:

(178)c.Iban oro eyom mi ntɔhɔ ye mmɔ:'The women want me to quarrel with them'

(178a) and (178c) are of course not synonymous.

Observe, interestingly, that if a plural NP occurs in place of mi in (178a) the reciprocal pronoun must refer to the subject of the embedded S, as (179) show:

(179)a. Iban oro eyom nnyin itɔhɔ ye kiet eken
1 2 3

'The women want us to quarrel with each other'
1 2 3

(179)b. Iban oro eyom mbufo etɔhɔ ye kiet eken

'The women want you to quarrel with each other'

(179)c. Iban oro eyom ŋkparawa oro etɔhɔ ye kiet eken

'The women want the youths to quarrel with each other'

It should be noted that kiet eken cannot refer to iban oro in these examples. However the reciprocal pronoun is to be generated, for it to refer to the subject of the matrix in complex sentences such as those in (179), kiet will have to be moved to this NP and then reduplicated, as /

as in the following examples:

(180)a. Iban oro kiet kiet eyom nnyin itɔhɔ ye eken

'The women each want us to quarrel with the other'

(180)b. Iban oro kiet kiet eyom mbufo etɔhɔ ye eken

'The women each want you to quarrel with the other'

(180)c. Iban oro kiet kiet eyom ŋkparawa oro etɔhɔ ye eken

'The women each want the youths to quarrel with the other'.

CHAPTER SIX

SIMPLE PRONOMINALIZATION

6.0 Introduction

As we have already indicated in Chapter Four (cf.4.2), pronominalization is a cover term for a number of processes by which one NP is used to change the basic form of another on condition of coreference, among other conditions. The term simple pronominalization is due primarily to Lees and Klima (1963) who first used the term simple pronoun to distinguish primarily what is commonly known as personal pronoun from reflexive pronoun. In general, the term pronominalization is ambiguous in transformational generative literature. On the one hand, it is used as a general term for a number of similar processes, as we do in this work. On the other hand, it is used to describe specifically one of the processes by which the basic form of an NP is changed to a personal pronoun form. Thus for Postal, for example, pronominalization (Postal 1971:16) "is the rule involved in the derivation of the pronominal forms in such examples as:

2.(11)a Harry said he would go.
b Harry understood that Mary didn't like him
c The fact that Mary lost was tragic for her

on the reading where these have coreferent interpretations". In order to avoid the above kind of ambiguity, we have preferred the term 'simple pronominalization' to indicate that the rule we are going to discuss is just an instance of pronominalization as a general linguistic rule. Simply, then, simple pronominalization is defined as the pronominal rule that derives personsl pronouns. In Efik, however, simple pronomi-:nalization should be extended to cover not only the derivation of personal pronouns like enye (he/she/it) and mmɔ (they) or imɔ and mmimɔ but also such locative pronouns as mi (here), do (there) and ko (yonder). As /

As our grammar allows these pronouns in the base too, we wish to say from the outset that simple pronominalization will be deemed to have occurred only in cases where the pronouns in question are anaphoric, or in Postal's words, where they "have coreferent interpretations". We should also add that simple pronominalization will be considered only within the initial S boundary (i.e. # S #). Inter-sentential pronouns, even though they may be anaphoric, will not be consideredsince our grammar cannot handle discourse. Perhaps it is worth pointing out that in Efik while pronouns like enye and mmɔ may be either deictic or anaphoric, those like imɔ and mmimɔ can only have anaphoric interpretations, as we will see later on.

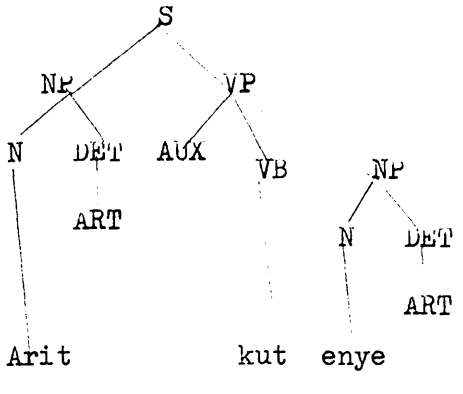
To facilitate our investigation, we will look at simple pronominalization in various complex and co-ordinate structures in the following sections.

6.1 Simple Pronominalization in Complex Structures with Adjunct Clauses:

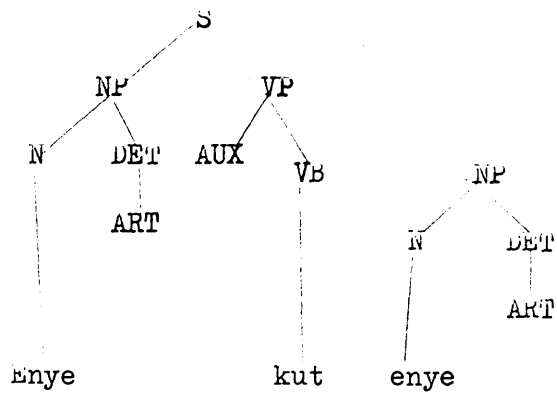
In Efik, as in other languages perhaps, simple pronominalization occurs only in complex structures or co-ordinate sentence structures. In other words, simple pronominalization takes place in a phrase marker with more than one S node, other things being equal. Consequently, simple pronominalization cannot occur in the following examples because in our grammar there is only one S node in the structures underlying each of the sentences, as the structures in 2a and 2b show

(1)a. Arit eyekut enye : 'Arit will see him/her'
$_{1}$ $_{2}$ $_{1}$ $_{2}$

(1)b. Enye eyekut enye : 'He will see him'
$_{1}$ $_{2}$ $_{3}$ $_{1}$ $_{2}$ $_{3}$



2a.



2b.

Given coreference in 2a and 2b, it is reflexivization, not simple pro-:nominalization which should have taken place. Since reflexivization did not take place in 2a and 2b, as is clear from the surface sentences in (1), it must be assumed that there was no coreference in 2a and 2b, and indeed there is no indication to that effect. We must therefore consider the pronouns in (1a) and (1b) as deictic.

In this section, we will be examining simple pronominalization in com-:plex sentences analysable as matrix S and Adjunct S, which is of course an embedded S.

It goes without saying that given a phrase marker with more than one S node, coreference is a necessary, though not always a sufficient con-:dition for the application of simple pronominalization in our grammar. Coreference will be indicated in our grammar by identical indices. As has already been pointed out, this is intended merely as a tool for representation, rather than support of, or satisfaction with, the indexing theory. As we wish to keep out of the controversies on the problem of coreference and its representation in linguistic descriptions, we will make no further comments on this matter. For us, then, two NPs will be considered coreferential if, among other things, they have identical number and person as well as identical indices.

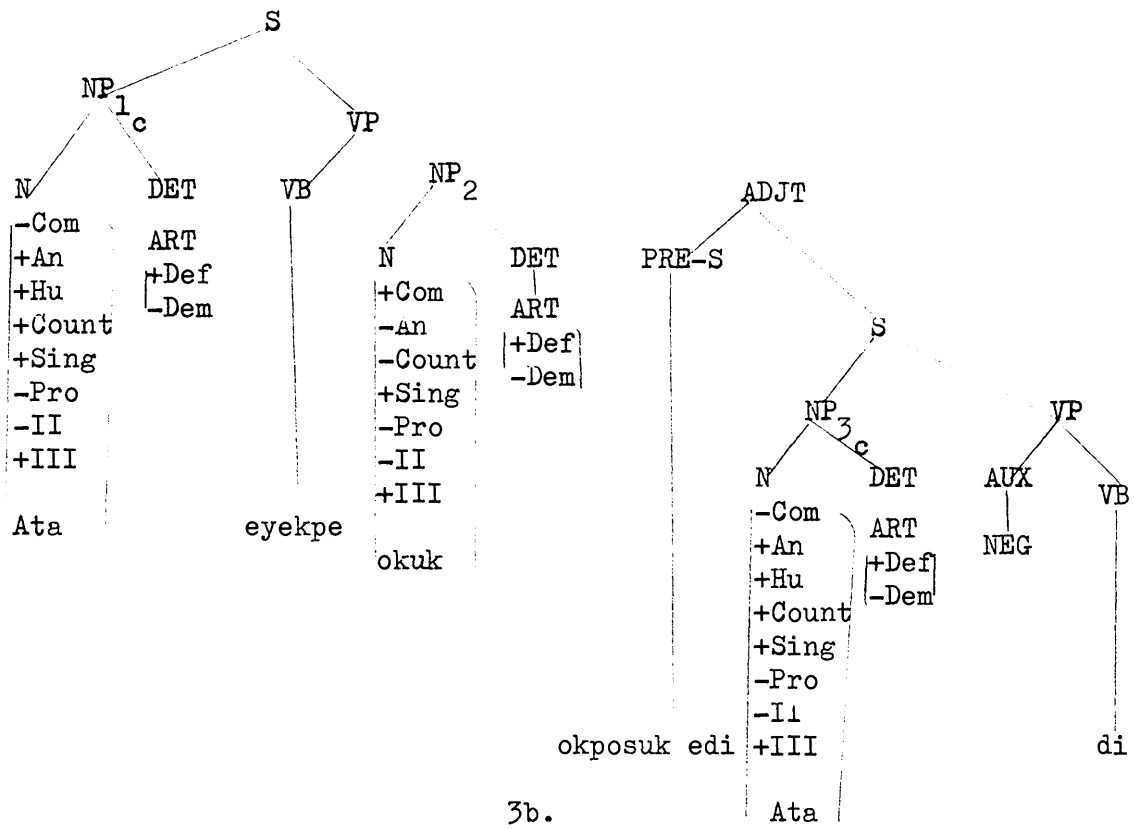
Let us now begin to examine some examples of sentences. First, consider the /

the following:

(3)a. Okposuk edi Ata midihe, enye eyekpe okuk oro
1 2 3 4 5 6

'Although Ata has not come, he will pay the money'
1 2 3 4 5 6

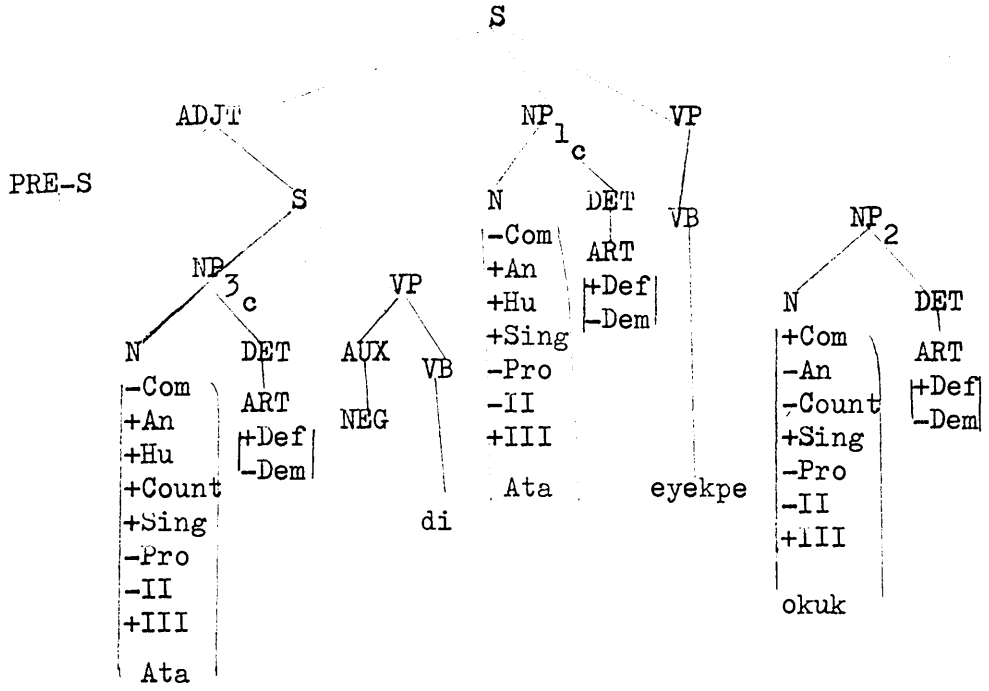
As usual, we will find out how (3a) is structured in the base. In doing this, we will omit details that are not relevant to our discussion, not only for (3a) but also for other examples. Accordingly, (3a) is structured as 3b.



3b.

6.1.1 Application of Simple Pronominalization:

As in English, the rule that preposes the Adjunct S with the matrix .. (cf.Langacker 1968:168 and Ross 1967:189ff) will have to precede simple pronominalization, as we will see later on. When this preposing rule applies, 3c is generated:



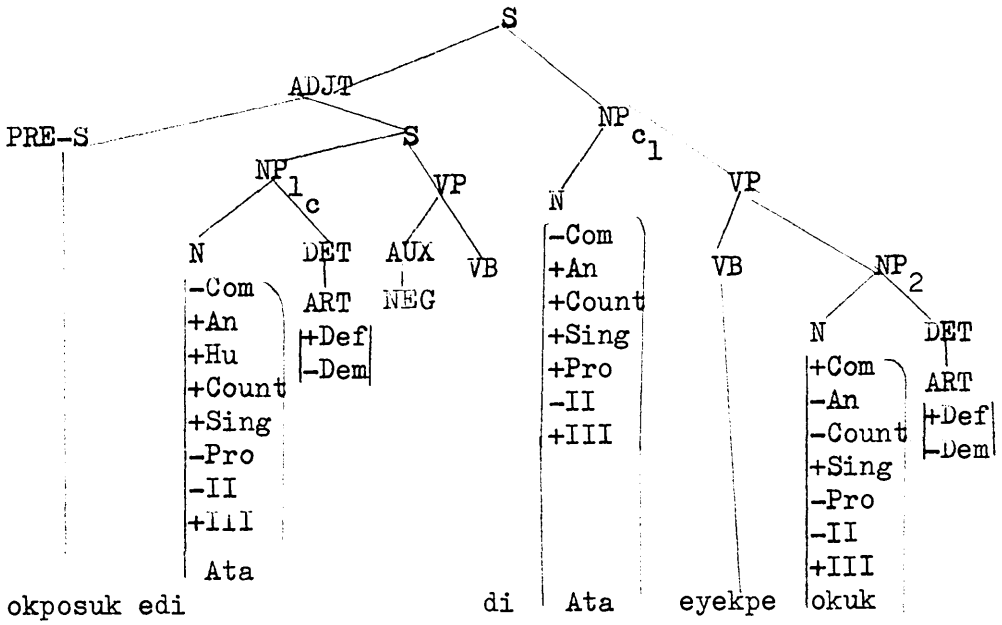
okposuk edi 3c.

The phrase marker 3c is then an input to simple pronominalization. When this rule applies, it does the following:

(a) changes the feature [-Pro] on the noun stem of the affected NP (NP_1 in this case);

(b) deletes the DET of this NP.

Operating on 3c above, simple pronominalization will generate 3d



okposuk edi di eyekpe

3d.

Later on the noun stem of the affected NP (i.e. NP_1 in this case) will be realised as enye from the features [+Pro, +Sing, +III]. If however the number feature were [-Sing], then mmɔ would be realised. What we are saying in effect is that after simple pronominalization, the noun stem with a [+Pro] feature specification will be realised as the appro-:priate personal (or simple) pronoun in the second lexical pass. Justification for replacing the noun stem, rather than the determiner, with the appropriate pronoun comes from such surface phrases as enye oro (the he/she/it), enye oko (he/she/it yonder), mmɔemi (these they), mmɔ oro (the/those they). This does not appear to be peculiar to Efik. In Ijaw, a related language, there are similar phrases such as bei arau (this she), bei eri (this he), eni omene (those they), etc., and such sentences as (4):

(4)a. Are bei arau dou yemi mane eni arau kpo
1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9

'I want this her and that her'
1 2 3 9 7 8

(4)b. Are bei eri dou yemi mane eni eri kpo: 'I want this him and that him'
1 2 1 2

Recall that in Chapter Four (cf.4.2) we showed that the behaviour of personal pronouns "is so much like that of ordinary non-pronominal nouns..." Reflexivization also provides support of this analysis. Recall that (cf.5.1.1) when reflexivization applies, the noun stem is replaced with the formative idem and the PD of the resultant reflexive pronoun is deletable. Thus in our view there are more compelling reasons for analysing personal pronouns as noun stems than there are for analysing them as determiners. So it may well be that while in English (and perhaps other Indo-European languages), the third person pronouns (or personal pronouns in general) are determiners, in Efik (and perhaps other related languages) they are noun stems.

Let /

Let us now return to the application of the preposing rule which swaps the matrix S with the Adjunct S bringing the latter forward, as we have already seen. In English, Langacker (ibid) has shown that this rule must precede simple pronominalization, otherwise it would be impossible to derive certain English sentences. This is exactly the case in Efik. For if simple pronominalization precedes the preposing rule, we will not be able to generate a sentence like (3a), which is repeated below, because of the impossibility of (5) for a reason we will explain later.

(3)a. Okposuk edi Ata midihe, enye eyekpe okuk oro
'Although Ata has not come, he will pay the money'

(5) *Enye$_{c}$ eyekpe okuk oro okposuk edi Ata$_{c}$ midihe
'He will pay the money although Ata has not come'

If, however, the preposing rule precedes simple pronominalization, as we have said above, then the problem posed by (5) does not arise, since the rules will apply in the order indicated above.

Next, let us consider whether simple pronominalization is obligatory in Efik. Consider, for example, (6), which is a paraphrase of (3a):

(6) ?Okposuk edi Ata midihe, Ata eyekpe okuk oro
'Although Ata has not come, Ata will pay the money'

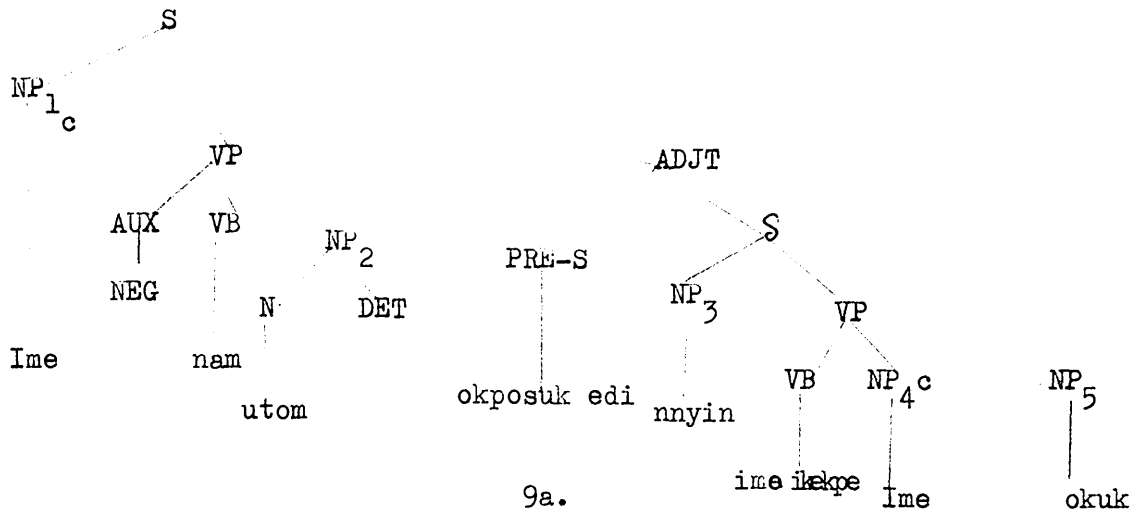
Since (6) is questionable because simple pronominalization has not applied - the proper analysis notwithstanding - it is reasonable to assume that simple pronominalization is obligatory. However, consider (7) and (8), which are paraphrases of each other:

(7) Okposuk edi nnyin ima ikekpe Ime okuk, enye inamke utom oro
1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9
'Although we had paid Ime money, he hasn't done the job yet'
1 2 3 4 5 6 7 9 8

(8) Okposuk edi nnyin ima ikekpe Ime okuk, Ime inamke utom oro
'Although we had paid Ime the money, Ime hasn't done the job yet'

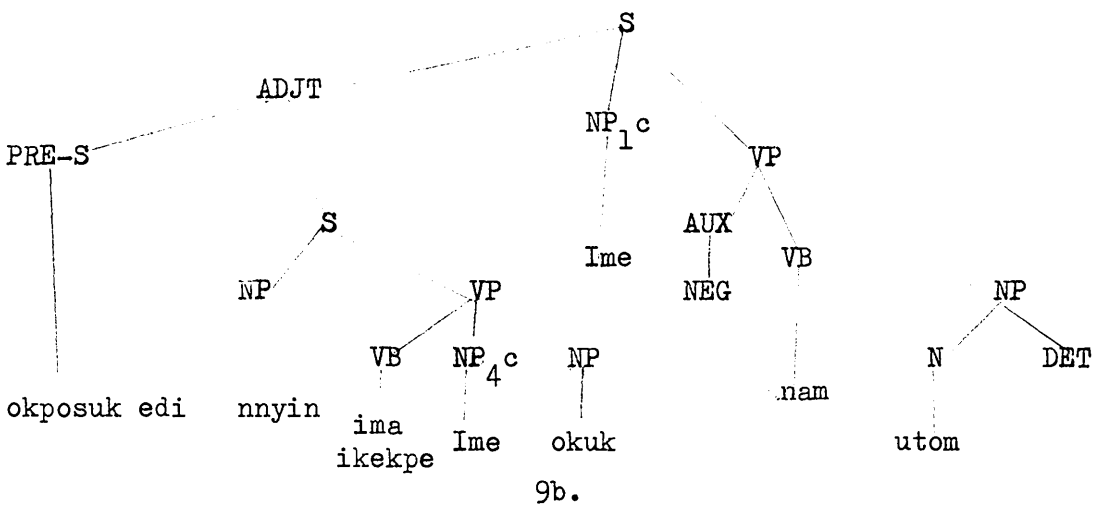
(7) and (8) are derived from 9a, omitting the features and other details not /

not relevant to the point.



9a.

Before simple pronominalization operates on 9a, the preposing rule will first of all do so, generating 9b



9b.

The phrase marker in 9b is now ready for the application of simple pronominalization. But observe that at the time of the application of this rule, the antecedent coreferent NP is the object in its own S. On the other hand, when this rule was ready to operate on 3c, the ante-:cedent NP there was the subject of its own S. In that phrase marker, the failure of simple pronominalization to apply would result in (6) which is questionable. In the case of 9b, however, if the rule applies then (7) will be derived. If the rule does not apply, then (8) will be /

be derived and is just as grammatical as the former. In short, simple pronominalization is optional in phrase markers such as 9b. It appears therefore that simple pronominalization is conditionally obligatory. If the antecedent coreferent NP is subject in its own S, as in 3c, then the rule should preferably apply obligatorily. If, however, this NP is object, as in 9b, then the rule applies optionally. What we are thus saying is that given a phrase marker such as 3c in which the antecedent coreferent NP is subject, the Efik speaker would prefer to apply simple pronominalization, whereas given another phrase marker like 9b, in which the same kind of NP is object, he may or may not apply the rule. Observe that this is the case not only in okposuk edi sentences but also complex sentences with Adjunct embedding in general. Thus while (10) are questionable at best, (11) are well-formed.

(10)a. ?Edieke Ata akade, Ata eyekut mmɔ: 'If Ata goes, Ata will see them'
1 2 3 4 5 6 1 2 3 4 5 6

(10)b. ?Effiong edep ediwak ŋwed man Effiong enem mi esit
1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9

'Effiong bought many books in order that Effiong may please me'
1 2 3 4 5 6 7,9 8

(10)c. ?Ete oro akanam utom kini ete oro ekedide akpawa
1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9

'The man worked when the man was a young man'
2 1 3,4 5 7 6 8 9

(11)a. Edieke ŋkutde Ata, Ata eyesian mi: 'If I see Ata, Ata will tell me'

(11)b. Mmɔ ekeyom Effiong man Effiong akpanyaŋa mmɔ
'They wanted Effiong so that Effiong might help them'

(11)c. Nnyin ike ma ete oro kini ete oro ekedide akparawa
'We liked the man when the man was a young man'

Observe that in cases where pronominalization is optional - (11) for example - the antecedent NPs are objects while the pronominalizable NPs are subjects in their respective S's. In (10), however, both the antecedent NPs and the pronominalizable ones are subjects in their own respective S's. Now consider (12) where both the antecedent and pro-:nominalizable NPs are objects in their own respective S's:

(12)a. /

(12)a.?Ɛdieke ŋkutde Ata, nnyesian Ata:'If I see Ata, I will tell Ata'

(12)b.?Mmɔ eyekot Effiong man mmɔ ebɔ Ɛffiong okuk

'They will invite Effiong to get money from Effiong'

(12)c. ?Nnyin ima ima ete oro kini nnyin ikekutde ete oro

'We liked the man when we saw the man'

The questionable status of (10) and (12) on the one hand, and the grammaticality of (11) on the other have added new dimensions to the condition for the obligatory or optional application of simple pronomi-:nalization. We will accordingly revise what we have said above and say that simple pronominalization applies obligatorily if both coreferent NPs are either subjects or objects in their own respective S's. If, however, one is subject and the other object, then the rule applies optionally.

Where, however, there is more than one set of coreferent NPs, it is customary to disregard the condition for obligatory application of the simple pronoun rule to avoid ambiguity. Thus (13a), (13b) and (13c) are not only grammatical but paraphrases; but (13d) is questionable.

(13)a. Okposuk edi Arit amade Ata, Arit ididɔhɔ enye

'Though Arit loves Ata, Arit won't marry him'

(13)b. Okposuk edi Arit amade Ata, enye ididɔhɔ Ata

'Although Arit loves Ata, she won't marry Ata'

(13)c. Okposuk edi Arit amade Ata, enye ididɔhɔ enye

'Though Arit loves Ata, she won't marry him'

(13)d. ?Okposuk edi Arit amade Ata, Arit ididɔhɔ Ata

'Though Arit loves Ata, Arit won't marry Ata'

To allow (13a) and (13b) to be generated, the condition for the obli-:gatory application of simple pronominalization should be restricted to cases where there are single pairs of coreferent NPs.

To recapitulate what has been said so far, we say that simple pro-:nominalization is defined over complex (or c-ordinate) phrase markers and applies obligatorily in a phrase marker with a single pair of coreferent /

coreferent NPs if these NPs are either both subjects, or both objects in their respective S's, and optionally otherwise. Simple pronominali-:zation must follow the preposing rule that swaps the matrix S with the embedded adjunct S, bringing the latter forward.

6.1.2 Pronoun Deletion:

In Efik, the pronouns derived by simple pronominalization in the manner described above are deletable. Thus (14) is derived from (3a) our example sentence which is repeated below, by the deletion of the pronoun enye.

(3)a. Okposuk edi Ata midihe, enye eyekpe okuk oro
'Although Ata has not come, he will pay the money'

(14) Okposuk edi Ata midihe, eyekpe okuk oro
'Although Ata has not come, he will pay the money'

It is important to emphasise that such a deletion takes place by coreference with the antecedent NP. Although a pronoun subject is deletable, this kind of deletion is limited to a simple structure (cf. Subject Deletion Rule in the Appendix). In a complex structure, however, third person pronouns, even if they are subjects, cannot be deleted unless under coreference. Welmers (1968:114) therefore missed the point when he translated the English sentence 'I don't know why he wants to go there' as *mfyɔkke ntak eke ɔyomde ndika do and passed the trans-:lation as a good Efik sentence. Since there is no coreference, enye should not have been deleted. In other words, the correct translation should have been mfyɔkke ntak eke enye oyomde ndika do. Pronoun deletion will be discussed in some more detail later in this Chapter and in Chapter Nine (cf.9.4.2).

6.1.3 Backward Simple Pronominalization:

So far we have dealt with cases of simple pronominalization in which the /

the pronoun follows the antecedent. There are, however, cases where the pronoun precedes the so-called antecedent in what Lyons (1973:486) calls 'progressive coreference'. Consider the following examples:

(15)a. Okposuk edi enye amade fi, Arit idiɔhɔ fi
1 2 3 4

'Although she loves you, Arit won't marry you'
1 2 3 4

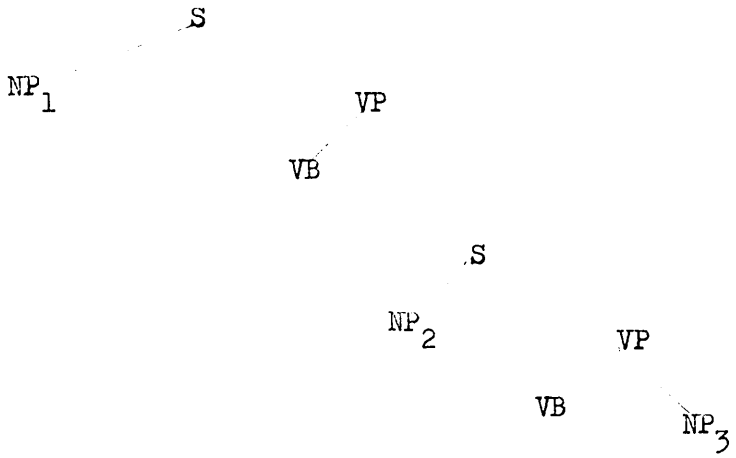
(15)b. Edieke enye amade mi, Okon eyedi mi: 'If he likes me, Okon will come here'
1 2 3 4 5 6 1 2 3 4 5 6

(15)c. Man enye ɔbɔ okuk, Bassey ana okure utom oro
1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8

'For him to get money, Bassey ought to finish the job'
1 2 3 4 5 6 8 7

The sentences in (15) are a few examples of sentences which have undergone simple pronominalization in a backward direction. Note that the pronouns in all cases are in the subordinate clauses and do not therefore violate the constraint on backward pronominalization as formulated by Langacker (1968). This constraint concerns what Langacker calls 'primary relations' of 'commands' and 'precedes'. According to him "NP^a may be used to pronominalize NP^p unless (1) NP^p precedes NP^a; and (2) either (a) NP^p commands NP^a, or (b) NP^a and NP^p are elements of separate conjoined structures" (p.168), where NP^p is "used throughout to indicate a noun phrase that reduces to a pronoun" and NP^a its antecedent. The 'precedes' relation is more straightforward. It pertains to the linear ordering of NP^a and NP^p. The 'command' relation is, however, a little complicated. It pertains to 'dominance relations'. According to Langacker (p.167), "a node A 'commands' another node B if (1) neither A nor B dominates the other; and (2) the S-node that most immediately dominates A also dominates B".

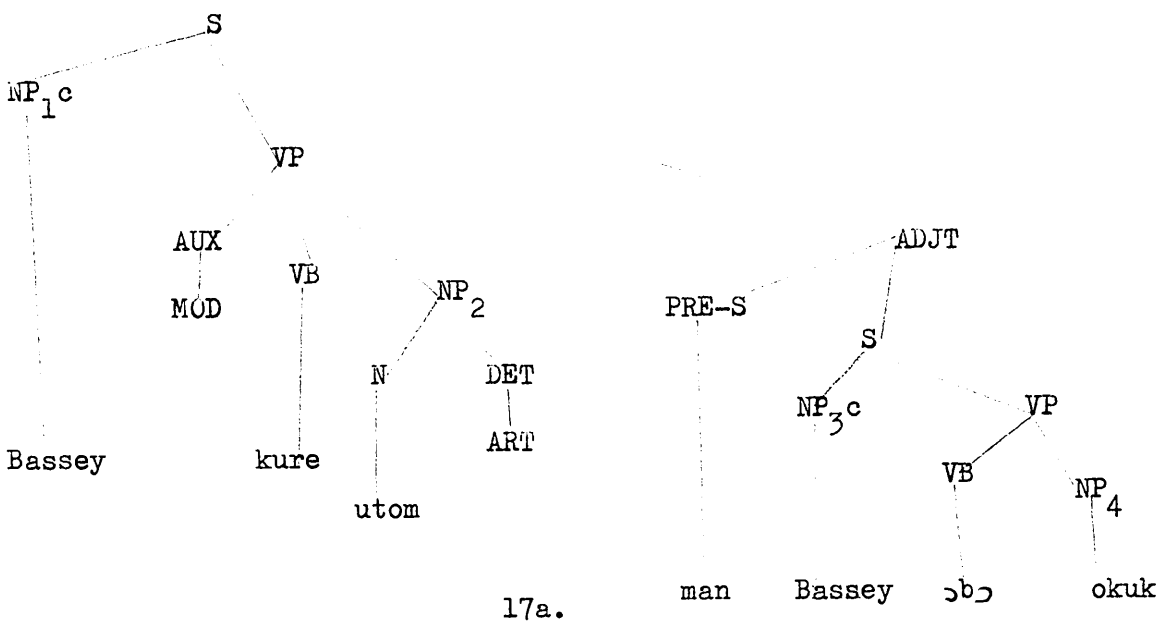
So in a tree diagram such as 16 below, NP_1 commands both NP_2 and NP_3, since the first S-node above NP_1 also dominates both of these NPs.



16.

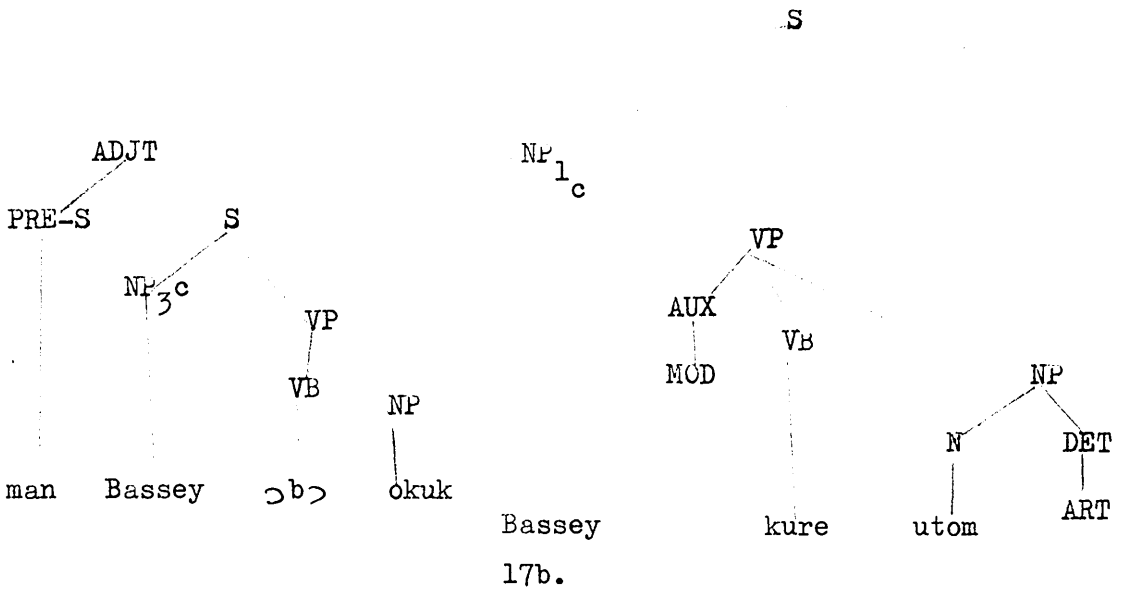
So given coreference between either NP_1 and NP_2, or NP_1 and NP_3, neither NP_2 nor NP_3 can be used to pronominalize NP_1, since NP_1 both precedes and commands both of these NPs.

Let us now turn to the actual application of backward simple pronominali-:zation by considering (15c), for example, which is structured as 17a.



17a.

As usual the preposing rule will apply, generating 17b.



17b.

Simple pronominalization, in this case in a backward direction, is now ready to operate on 17b. Although NP_3 in the Adjunct S precedes NP_1 in the matrix S, it is in a subordinate clause and does not therefore command NP_1 which is used to pronominalize it. Backward pronominali-:zation can conveniently apply to 17b to generate (15c) from it. (15c) is repeated below for convenience:

(15)c. Man enye ɔbɔ okuk, Bassey ana okure utom oro
'For him to get money, Bassey ought to finish the job'

Of course, simple pronominalization can also operate in the usual forward direction on 17b. If so, then (17c) below will be derived:

(17)c. Man Bassey ɔbɔ okuk, enye ana okure utom oro
'For Bassey to get money, he ought to finish the job'

(15c) and (17c) are of course synonymous.

So backward simple pronominalization is optional, given a phrase marker such as 17b.

Perhaps we should add that as in English, if the constraint on backward pronominalization is violated, ungrammaticality results. Thus (18) is ungrammatical, where the pronoun enye precedes and commands Bassey, if enye and Bassey are coreferential.

(18) /

(18)*Nnyekut enye, edieke Bassey edide:'I will see him if Bassey comes'
1 2 c 3 c 4 ------1--- 2 c 3 c 4

There are,however, instances where backward pronominalization is apparently not permissible, even though Langacker's backward condition is not violated. As in English (cf.Postal 1971:22), backward pronomi-:nalization is not allowed if NP^a, in Langacker's terms, is indefinite, as (19) show:

(19)a.*Edieke enye edide mi, kpeme owo:'If he comes here, watch a man'
1 2 3 4 5 6 1 2 3 4 5 6

(19)b. *Man enye enem esit, nnyekpe akparawa okuk
'So that he may be happy, I will pay a young man money'

where owo and akparawa which refer to enye in (19a) and (19b) respectively are indefinite. If these NPs are, however, definite the sentences would be grammatical, as (20) show:

(20)a.Edieke enye edide mi, kpeme owo oro:'If he comes here watch that man'

(20)b. Man enye enem esit, nnyekpe akparawa oro okuk
'So that he may be happy, I will pay the young man money'

So definitization of the NP on the right is required in a backward pronominalization. Definitization of course precedes pronominali-:zation.

There is, however, a further constraint on backward simple pronominali-:zation which appears to be peculiar to Efik. Consider (21):

(21)a. ?Okposuk edi nnyin imade enye, nnyin iyomke Bassey
c c
'Although we like him we don't want Bassey'

(21)b.*Edieke ɔkutde enye, nnyekot Ata:'If I see him, I will invite Ata'
c c

(21)c. *Koro nsuade enye, mmaha ndikut Ime
1 2 3 c 4 5 c
'Because I hate him, I don't like to see Ime'
1 -2---- 3 -------4---- 5

Observe that in each of the sentences in (21), enye and its coreferent nominal are objects in their respective S's. This is important since (22), where this is not the case, are well-formed.

(22)a. /

(22)a. Okposuk edi enye$_c$ amade nnyin, nnyin iyomke Bassey$_c$ mi

'Although he likes us, we don't want Bassey here'

(22)b. Edieke enye$_c$ okutde mi, Ata$_c$ eyedi: 'If he sees me, Ata will come'
1 2 3 4 5 1 2 3 4 5

(22)c. Koro enye$_c$ asuade mi, Ime$_c$ iyomke ndikut mi
1 2 3 4 5

'Because he hates me, Ime doesn't want to see me'
1 2 3 4 5

So it does seem that in Efik, at least in my dialect, backward pronominalization is not allowed if the two NPs involved are objects in their own S's. Perhaps I should add that even in dialects in which (21) are grammatical, (22) are felt to be superior to them. Thus in Efik, the ungrammaticality of sentences like (23) arises from the violation of the above constraint which for convenience we may call object-object, not from referential identity connected with a copular verb as in English, according to Postal (ibid:23).

(23) *Se inemde enye$_c$ esit edi ami ndikot Ata$_c$
1 2 3 4 5 6

'What pleases him is I have invited Ata'
1 2,3 4 5 6

Our observation is borne out by the grammaticality of (24):

(24) Se mmade enye$_c$ anam edi Ata$_c$ ndika do
1 2 3 4 5 6

'What I like him to do is Ata to go there'
1 2 3 4 5 6

In (23), enye and Ata are both objects in their respective S's, hence the ungrammaticality. In (24), however, enye and Ata are both subjects in their own S's, and so the object-object constraint is not violated. This constraint will have to be incorporated in the general constraint on backward pronominalization in Efik.

The application of simple pronominalization in structures with adjunct S can be summarised as follows, indicating some kind of hierarchy:
Given two coreferent NPs, X and Y, in complex structures with Adjunct clauses, where X stands for the pronominalizable NP and Y for the NP used to pronominalize X:

(a) /

(a) If X precedes and commands Y, X cannot be pronominalized;

(b) Even if X precedes Y but does not command Y, if both X and Y are objects in their respective S's, X cannot be pronominalized;

(c) Provided X does not precede and command Y, X is optionally pronomi-:nalized, if X is subject and Y object, or vice versa, in their respective S's;

(d) X is, however, obligatorily pronominalized, if both X and Y are either subjects, or objects, and if there are no other pairs of coreferent NPs.

6.1.4 Simple Pronominalization and the Use of Certain Coreferent NPs:

It has been suggested that the use of certain NPs like inɔ (thief), ndisime (fool) and akpara (prostitute) in complex sentences such as (25) is in fact a kind of pronominalization:

(25)a. Mbemiso Ata ekedi, inɔ oro ama ɔbɔ ediwak okuk
1 2 3 4 5 6 7

'Before Ata came, the thief/rogue got a lot money'
1 2 4 3 5 6 7

(25)b. Edieke ŋkutde Bassey, nnyeyat esit ye ndisime oro
1 2 3 4 5 6 7

'If I see Bassey, I will be angry with the fool'
1 2 3 5 4 7 6

(25)c. Okposuk edi Arit okodude ke ufɔk, akpara oro ikeyomke ndikut mi
1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9

'Although Arit was at home, the prostitute didn't want to see me'
1 2 3 4 6 5 7 8 9

In English, the use of such NPs is often referred to as quasi pronomi-:nalization but Jackendoff (1968:14) calls it 'the use of pronominal epithets'. Jackendoff has shown that the use of pronominal epithets is a kind of pronominalization. For example, the distribution of these epithets is similar to that of personal pronouns. For example, they occur in backward positions, subject to the same constraint as pronouns. For this reason, Jackendoff, rightly, treats the use of pronominal epithets within the general framework of pronominalization.

In /

In Efik, however, there are significant differences between the use of such NPs and simple pronominalization. First, unlike in English, such NPs cannot occur backward, thus (26) are ungrammatical, where they do so.

(26)a. *Okposuk edi ndisime oro odude mi, nnyomke ndikut Okon
'Although the fool is here, I don't want to see Okon'

(26)b. *Mbemiso akpara oro ɔnyɔŋ, Arit ama aŋwana eŋwan
'Before the prostitute left, Arit had fought'

(26)c. *Edieke inɔ oro odude mi, dɔhɔ Bassey ɔnyɔŋ
'If the rogue is here, tell Bassey to go'

Second, the antecedent of the pronominal epithet, to use Jackendoff's term, must not be indefinite, whereas this is not the case with the pronoun in forward positions. Thus (27) are ungrammatical but (28) are grammatical:

(27)a. *Okposuk edi ŋwan odude mi, ŋkwe akpara oro
'Although a woman is here, I haven't seen the prostitute'

(27)b. *Edieke owo oyomde mi, dɔhɔ ndisime oro ebet
'If a man wants me, ask the fool to wait'

(28)a. Okposuk edi ŋwan odude mi, ŋkwe enye
'Although a woman is here, I haven't seen her'

(28)b.Edieke owo edide mi, dɔhɔ enye ebet:'If a man comes here, ask him to wait'

Thirdly, after pronominalization, the pronoun may be deleted without a change in meaning, as we have already seen. However, if a pronominal epithet is deleted, this deletion results in a different interpretation of the sentence. Consider the following, for example:

(29)a. Edieke Arit edide mi, akpara oro eyesin ntime
'If Arit comes here, the prostitute will give trouble'

(29)b. Edieke Arit edide mi, eyesin ntime
'If Arit comes here, she will give trouble'

There is information missing in (29b), namely, Arit is <u>akpara</u>. There is no way of retrieving this semantic information from (29b).

Pronominalization /

Pronominalization is not known to introduce additional information in the way that the use of these epithets does.

The above syntactic restrictions coupled with the additional semantic information supplied by the use of the above epithets, in contrast with pronouns, suggests strongly that though these epithets behave like ana-:phoric pronouns in some respects, they should not be derived like ordinary anaphoric pronouns, such as enye in (3) above. In fact, the use of certain NPs in complex (and conjoined) structures to refer to a preceding one even though both the following NP and the preceding one are totally morphologically different in form and meaning is not res-:tricted to the use of epithets only. 'Relational' NPs like eyen-eka (brother/sister) and what may be called 'position' NPs like etubom (the headmaster) and ɔbɔŋ (the chief) may be used in exactly the same way as the epithets. Consider (30)[1] and (31) for example:

(30)a. Okposuk edi Arit ekedide mi, eyen-eka mi ikeyomke ndikut mi
1 2 c 3 4 5 6 c 7 8 9

'Although Arit came here, my sister didn't want to see me'
1 2 c 3 4 6 5 c 7 8 9

(30)b. Edieke Ime edide, Bassey eyekut ufan esie
1 2 c 3 4 6 7 c 8

'If Ime comes, Bassey will see his friend'
1 2 c 3 4 6 8 7 c

(31)a. Ema ebet Ete Inyang, edi ɔbɔn ikedihe
1 2 3 4 c 5 6 9 7

'Ete Inyang was waited for but the chief didn't come'
3 4 c 1,2 5 6 c 7

(31)b. Okposuk edi nnyin ima ikekpe Mr. Ema ubɔk, etubom ke ayayat esit
1 2 3 4 c 5 6 c 7

'Although we apologised to Mr. Ema, the headmaster is still angry'
1 2 3,5 4 c 6 c 7

As in the case of epithets, the same constraints must be observed by the use of 'relational' and 'position' NPs to refer to other NPs; namely they must occur in forward positions only and their antecedents must not be /

---

1. It appears even the English equivalents of (30) are also grammatical.

be indefinites. Thus (32) and (33) are ungrammatical, where those NPs occur in a backward position and where the antecedents are indefinites, respectively:

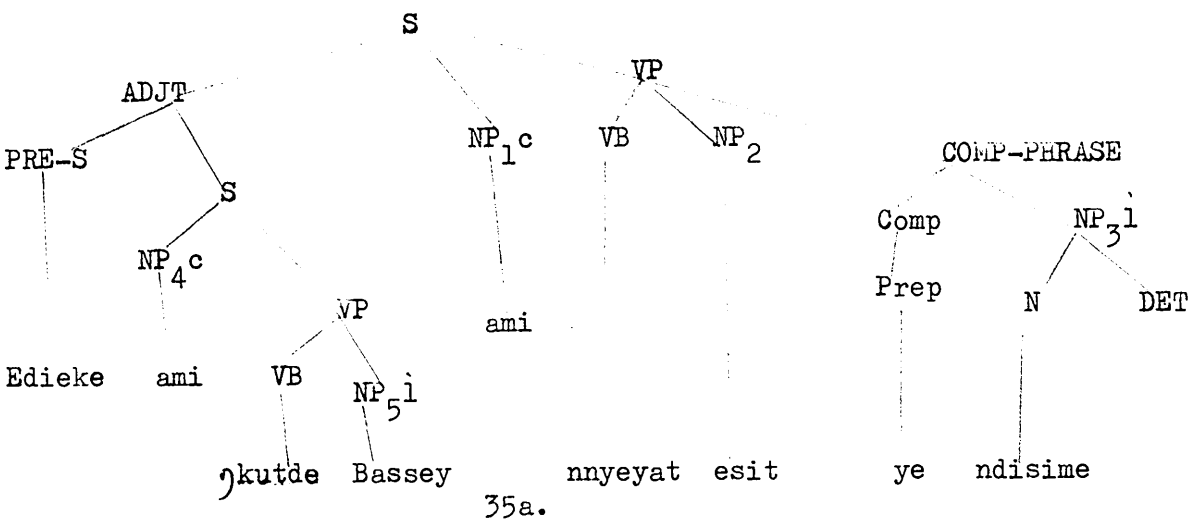
(32)a. *Edieke ufan$_c$ esie edide, Bassey eyekut Ime$_c$
'If his friend$_c$ comes, Bassey will see Ime$_c$'

(32)b. *Ema ebet ɔbɔh$_c$, edi Ete Inyang$_c$ ikedihe
'The Chief$_c$ was waited for, but Ete Inyang$_c$ didn't come'

(33)a. *Okposuk edi ŋwan$_c$ ekedi, eyen-eka$_c$ mi ikeyomke ndikut mi
'Although a woman$_c$ came, my sister$_c$ didn't want to see me'

(33)b. *Okposuk edi nnyin ikekpede owo$_c$ ubɔk, etubom$_c$ ke ayayat esit'
'Although we apologised to a man$_c$, the headmaster$_c$ is still angry'

The question is, how are sentences like (25), (30) and (31b), which we believe are similar in structure, to be generated? The problem is the structures underlying these sentences would be proper analyses for simple pronominalization. But if the rule applies, it will seriously affect the interpretation of the sentences. Thus taking (25b), for example, which is derived from the intermediate structure in 35a:



35a.

simple pronominalization will generate (35b) below:

(35)b. Edieke ŋkutde Bassey$_c$, nnyeyat esit ye enye$_c$
'If I see Bassey, I will be angry with him'

But (25b) and (35b) are clearly not paraphrases. To generate (25), (30) /

(30) and (31b), we therefore suggest that NPs like eyen eka, ndisime, etubom, etc., must occur in the base as lexical items, in much the same way that deictic pronouns occur in the base. In addition, we must find some device to block simple pronominalization in the structures underlying these sentences.

Now for the analysis of epithets in English Jackendoff (ibid:14) has suggested that they be marked "as special lexical items which may function as pronouns" and that their lexical meaning be added "to the intended attributes of the person they refer to". According to him, "then the pronominalization rule requires no change at all, since the optional feature [+pro] on the epithets automatically brings them under the domain of the rule". Taking Jackendoff's suggestion, we can mark the NPs in question (eyen-eka, ufan, etubom, etc.) as [+Pro]. Then we will need a constraint of the following kind to block simple pronominalization in structures underlying (25), (30) and (31b):

(36) In a structure which normally allows simple pronominalization, the rule does not apply if the pronominalizable NP is [+Pro] and if the other coreferent NP is [+Def].

If the constraint is invoked at some intermediate level, the following will result:

(a) Structures underlying sentences like (37) with the two coreferent pronouns do not allow simple pronominalization, naturally;

(37) Edieke enye edide, nnyekut enye:'If he comes, I will see him'
1 2^{c} 3 4 5^{c} 1 2^{c} 3 ------4--- 5^{c}

(b) Simple pronominalization will not apply in structures underlying (25), (30) and (31).

In this way, our analysis overcomes the semantic problem that the application of simple pronominalization will have created. Moreover, it is compatible with the already known fact that in Efik coreference does /

does not always result in simple pronominalization in complex struc-:tures. In the case of (25), (30) and (31) this rule must not apply and (36) ensures that.

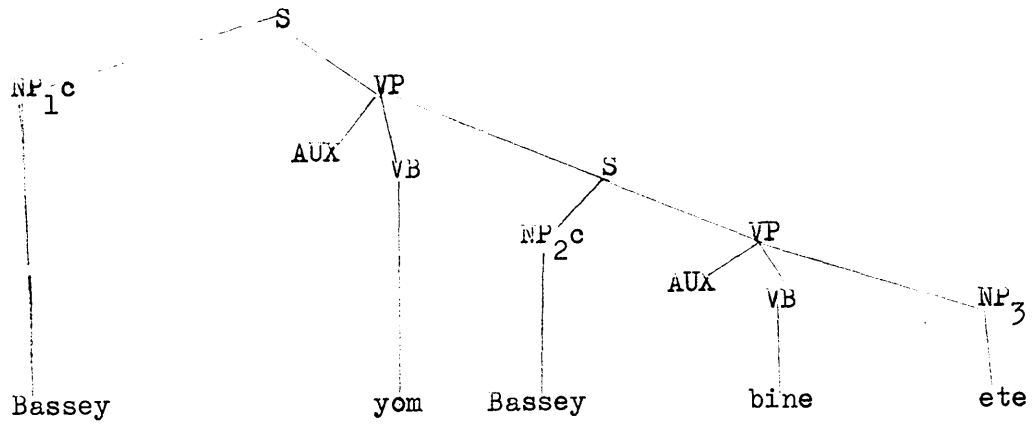
6.2 Simple Pronominalization in Structures Underlying Infinitive Sentences:

In Efik, S embedding which acts as an object of the matrix verb is of two kinds, namely the embedding which requires the use of the ete connective or complementizer and the other kind of embedding which does not require this element. We will deal with the former kind of embedding in the next section. In this section, we will be concerned with what may be called 'non-ete' embedding which involves infinitivization, in relation to simple pronominalization. We have come across infinitivi-:zation already in Chapter Five. Now we wish to look at it in some more detail and see how simple pronominalization applies, if it does at all in structures underlying infinitive sentences. For this reason, we will be primarily interested in infinitive sentences which involve coreference.

Let us now turn to concrete examples and consider (38), for example:

(38) Bassey oyom ndibine ete : 'Bassey wants to join father'
1 2 3 4 1 2 3 4

The above is a typical example of an infinitive sentence in Efik. Underlying it is the phrase marker in 39a, if we omit the features and other details.



39a.

As /

As we have already pointed out in Chapter Five (cf.5.2), a phrase marker such as 39a is a proper analysis for infinitivization, among other rules of course. Given such a phrase marker, then, infinitivization applies on condition that

(a) the matrix subject is coreferential with the embedded subject

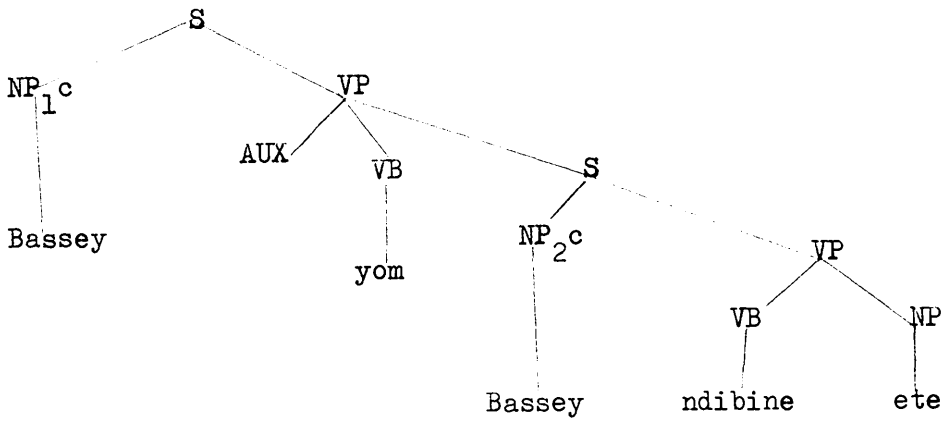
(b) the S that dominates the embedded subject is an object of the matrix.

The need for (b) is to block infinitivization in complex sentences with Adjunct S embedding so that strings like the following may not be generated:

(39)b.*Bassey eyebine ete edieke ndima:'Bassey will join father if to like'
1 2 3 4 5 1 2 3 4 5

(39)c.*Bassey eyedi mi man ndikut mi:'Bassey will come here to see me'

We will re-examine condition (a) later. For the moment, however, let us see how the rule applies. It applies obligatorily deleting the AUX of the embedded VP and attaching the prefix ndi- onto the VB, thus generating 40a:



40a.

But 40a is ungrammatical. What we need then is a rule to save it. Since the matrix subject and the embedded subject are coreferential, simple pronominalization should naturally apply. After all, as we have indicated in 6.1.1 above, simple pronominalization applies obligatorily "in a phrase marker with a single pair of coreferent NPs if these NPs are either both subjects or both objects in their respective S's. So simple /

simple pronominalization is obligatory in 40a. Naturally, the appli-:cation of such a rule should save 40a. In spite of this, however, (40b), the output of simple pronominalization on 40a, is also ungramma-:tical:

(40)b.*Bassey oyom enye ndibine ete :'Bassey wants he to join father'
c c

What is in fact required to save 40a is the deletion of the subject of the embedded S and when this is done (38), which is repeated below, is generated:

(38) Bassey oyom ndibine ete : 'Bassey wants to join father'

The question is, should simple pronominalization be made to apply before the deletion, as Postal (1970) would like to argue? In other words, should (38) be derived via (40b) rather than directly from 40a? Given a structure such as 40a, it would appear to be unnecessary for simple pronominalization to have applied before the deletion of the embedded subject, since it is the deletion and not simple pronominali-:zation that saves 40a. However, there is evidence that although it is in fact the deletion of the embedded subject, rather than the simple pronominalization of it, that ultimately saves 40a, nevertheless the latter rule does in fact apply before the deletion. Consider the sen-:tences in (41) where infinitivization must apply but where the pro-:nominalization and the deletion of the embedded subject are also possible:

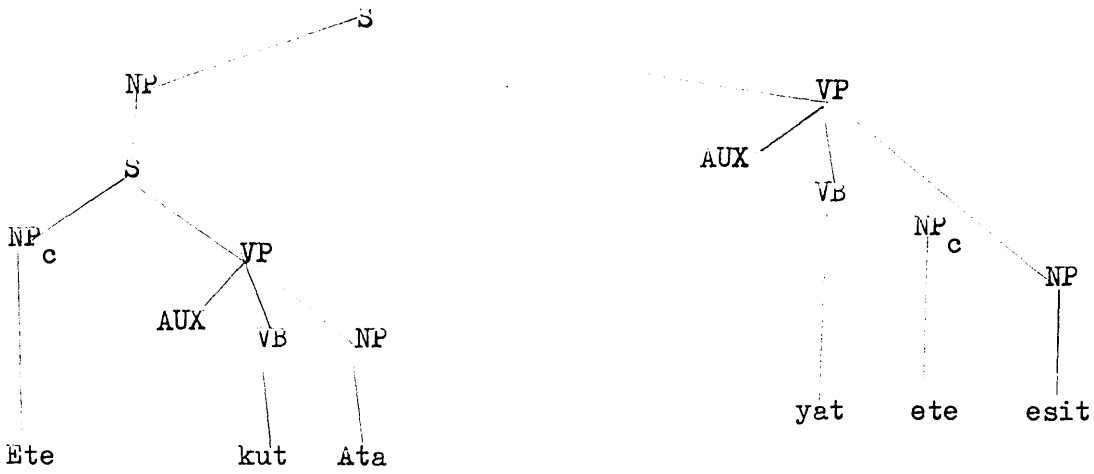
(41)a.Ama ayat ete esit ete ndikut Ata:'It annoyed father for father to see
1 2 3 4 5 6 7 --1,2,4--- 3 5 --6---
Ata'
7

(41)b.Ama ayat ete esit enye ndikut Ata:'It annoyed father for him to see Ata'

(41)c.Ama ayat ete esit ndikut Ata :'It annoyed father to see Ata'

(41) are paraphrases of each other and are therefore derived from the same /

same source, namely 42a:



42a.

Justification for deriving (41) from 42a comes from (42b), where it is quite plain that the embedded sentence is the subject of the matrix.

(42)b. Ndikut Ata ama ayat ete esit : 'To see Ata annoyed father'

Now let us see how we may go about deriving (41) from 42a, considering only the relevant rules. Efik grammar requires that infinitivization apply to the embedded VP if the embedded S that contains this VP is dominated by the matrix subject NP[2].

When this rule applies (43a) is generated:

(43)a. Ete ndikut Ata AUX yat ete esit
'For father to see Ata AUX annoy father'

There is a rule of subject S raising which is required to raise the embedded S to the subject NP node and erase that NP such that the embedded S is directly dominated by the matrix S. When this rule applies /

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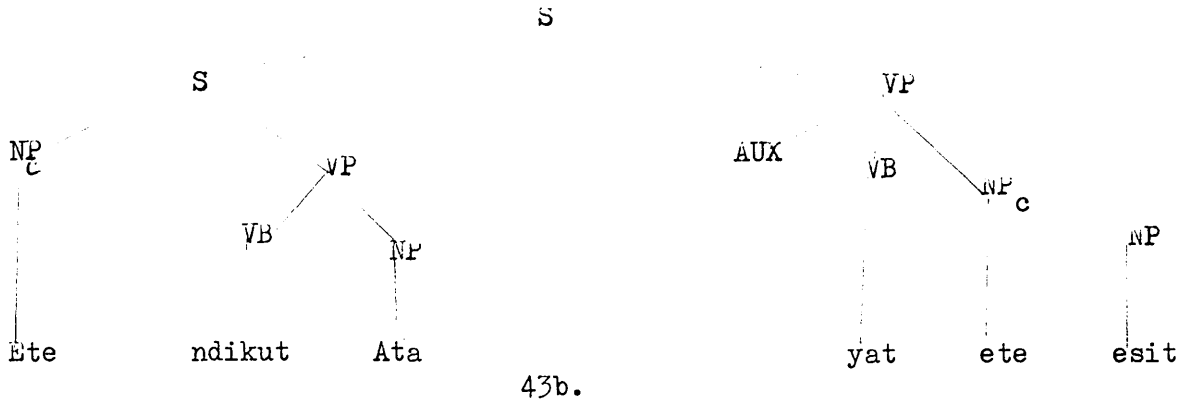
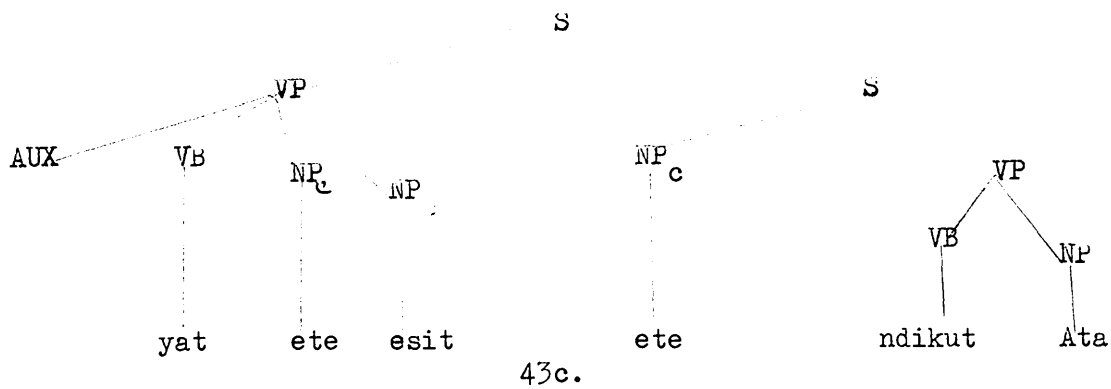
2. Coreference is not necessary in this case since infinitivization applies in the following, even though there is no coreference between an NP in the matrix and another in the embedded S:
(a) Ɔfɔn Ata ndika do :'It is good for Ata to go there'
(a) is of course derived from (b):
(b) Ata ndika do ɔfɔn : 'For Ata to go there is good'

applies 43b, which is represented diagrammatically below, is generated:



43b.

There is a preposing rule which optionally brings the matrix VP to the front and reassigns the embedded subject S to the back by swapping one with the other. This rule is the same rule that preposes the embedded Adjunct S by swapping the S with the matrix S. Since this preposing rule is required to apply before simple pronominalization for reasons we have already explained in 6.1.1, the rule will apply to 43b, generating 43c below:



43c.

Simple pronominalization can now apply and since it is optional in this case - one of the coreferent NPs is subject and the other object in their respective S's - if the rule does not apply (41a), which is repeated below, is generated:

(41)a. Ama ayat ete esit ete ndikut Ata
'It annoyed father for father to see Ata'

If, however, simple pronominalization applies, (41b), which is repeated below, is generated:

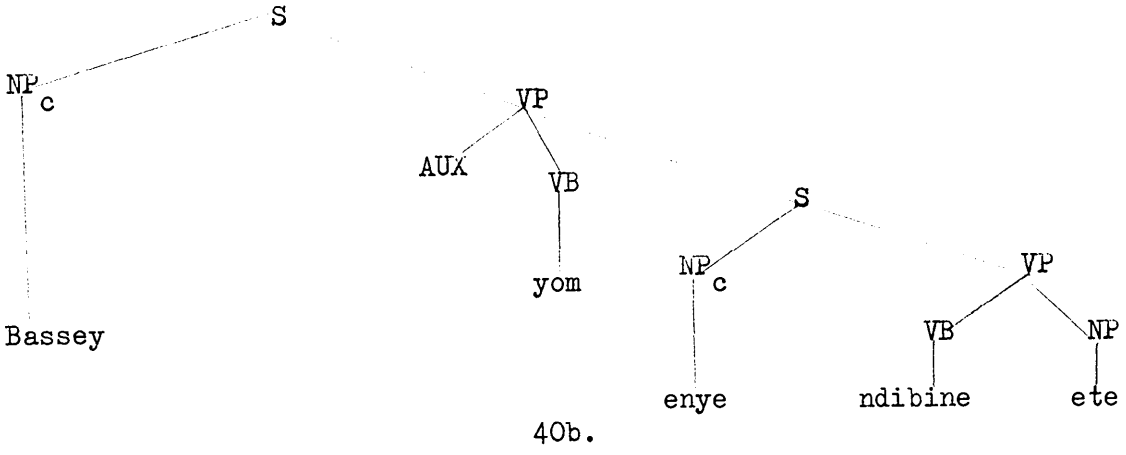
(41)b. /

(41)b. Ama ayat ete esit enye ndikut Ata
'It annoyed father for him to see Ata'

Deletion can now take place and enye, the pronoun realised after simple pronominalization, will be optionally deleted. When the deletion takes place, (41c), which is also repeated below, is generated:

(41)c.Ama ayat ete esit ndikut Ata :'It annoyed father to see Ata'

The examples in (41) show clearly that simple pronominalization applies even in cases where the deletion of a coreferent NP is done by Equi-NP-Deletion in a language like English (cf.Ross 1967:194)(for example). If so, we wonder whether there is need for Equi-NP-Deletion in Efik. Shouldn't the deletion of such NPs be done by the ordinary pronoun deletion, since these NPs are in fact pronouns at the time they are deleted? We think the pronoun deletion should apply, for in this way this rule can be formulated to apply obligatorily in phrase markers like 40b, which can be represented diagrammatically below:



40b.

where

(a) the embedded subject is coreferential with the matrix subject

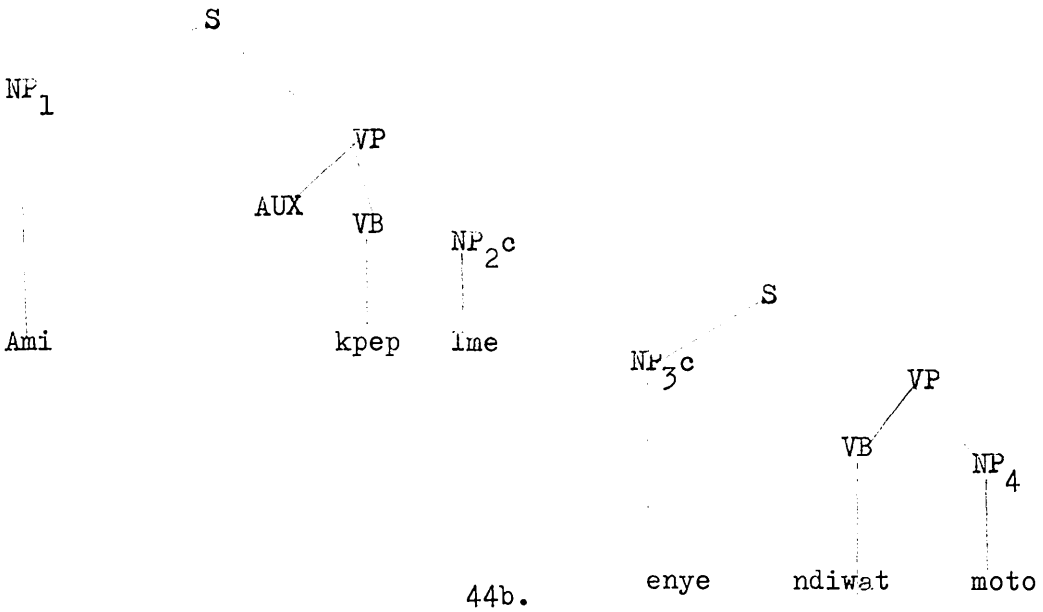
(b) the embedded S itself is an object of the matrix VP.

However, (44a) is not covered by condition (a) and can therefore be generated, in spite of its ungrammaticality. It is not covered by condition (a) because the matrix NP is the object, not subject, in this case, as 44b, from which (44a) is derived, shows:

(44)a. /

(44)a. *Ami mmekpep Ime enye ndiwat moto
1 2 3 4 5 6

'I have taught Ime for him to drive a car'
1 ----2------ 3 4 --5----- 6



44b.

In order to ensure that the pronoun enye is obligatorily deleted to generate (44c), which is grammatical:

(44)c. Ami mmekpep Ime ndiwat moto :'I have taught Ime to drive a car'

The conditions for the obligatory application of pronoun deletion can be restated thus:

(a) the pronoun is an embedded subject and is coreferential with a matrix NP;

(b) the embedded S itself is an object of the matrix verb.

In this way, the pronouns in sentences such as (45) will continue to be optionally deleted, while those in sentences such as (46) will be obligatorily deleted to generate grammatical strings:

(45)a. Edieke Ata edide, (enye) eyekut mi:'if Ata comes, he will see me'
1 2 3 4 5 6 1 2 3 4 ----5--- 6

(45)b. Man ɔkpe Ime okuk, (enye) ana okure utom oro
1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9

'For me to pay Ime money, he must finish the job'
1 -----2--- 3 4 5 6 7 9 8

(45)c. Enem ndit ɔ oro esit (mm ɔ) ndikut fi
1 2 3 4 5 6 7

'It pleases those children for (them) to see you'
--1,4----- 3 2 5 --6--- 7

(46)a. /

(46)a. *Akon$_{c}$ oyom enye$_{c}$ ndinam utom : 'Akon wants she to work'

(46)b. *Ami$_{1}$ mmekpɔ$_{2}$ Arit$_{3}$ enye$_{c}$ ndise$_{4}$ eyen$_{5}$ baby$_{6}$

'I$_{1}$ have$_{2}$ left Arit$_{3}$ for her$_{4}$ to mind$_{5}$ the baby$_{6}$'

It should be noted that in general failure to delete an obligatorily deletable pronoun when its coreferent antecedent is subject of the matrix generates far worse strings than when the antecedent is object in the matrix, as (46a) and (46b) show.

To summarise, we have said that in infinitive sentences with coreferent NPs, the deletion of the embedded subject performed by Equi-NP-Deletion in English should in fact be performed by the Pronoun Deletion rule in Efik. This will allow us to make a generalization of the following kind:

> A pronoun is obligatorily deletable if (a) it is the subject of the embedded S in an infinitive sentence and coreferential with a matrix NP, and (b) the embedded S itself is an object of the matrix verb; otherwise it is optionally deletable.

6.3 Simple Pronominalization in Complex Structures with Complement Clauses:

In 6.2 above, we dealt with Simple Pronominalization in infinitive sentences, which are in fact complex structures with complement clauses. For our purposes, complex structures with a sentential object or subject will hereafter be referred to as complex structures with complement clauses. In this section, we wish to examine simple pronominalization in complex structures with the ete complementizer. In particular, we wish to examine the occurrence of the self-referring form, to use Clements' (1973) term, imɔ (plural mmimɔ), which appears to occur in sentences with the ete complementizer. However, it should be noted from the outset that although the natural environment, so to say, of imɔ is in sentences with ete, it does occur in some sentences without ete, as we will see.

As /

As the behaviour of some verbs will be shown to be relevant to the gene-:ration of imɔ, we will begin by considering the relationship of matrix verbs to their complement clauses. In general, verbs that take complement clauses are verbs of saying, hearing, thinking, resolving, believing, wish-:ing, wanting, liking, etc. The so-called psychological verbs like yat esit (be angry), nem esit (be happy), etc., also take complement clauses, though these complement clauses are generally subjects of these verbs as we have already seen in the previous section.

Some of these verbs like dɔhɔ (say), kop (hear), nim (believe), biere (decide, resolve), kere (think), etc. may occur with the ete complemen-:tizer in one interpretation of the sentence, or with the infinitive S complement in another interpretation, as (47) and (48) show:

(47)a.Bassey ɔkɔdɔhɔ ete imɔ iyedep moto:'Bassey said that he would buy a car'
1 2 3 4 5 6 1 2 3 4 5 6

(47)b.Arit etiŋ ete imɔ iyeka do:'Arit said that she would go there'
1 2 3 4 5 6 1 2 3 4 5 6

(47)c.Iban oro ebiere ete mmimɔ iyekpe okuk oro:'The women resolved that they would pay the money'
1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 2 1 3 4 5 6 8 7

(48)a.Arit etiŋ abaŋa ndika do:'Arit has talked about to go there'
3 3

(48)b.Iban oro ebiere ndikpe okuk oro:'The women have resolved to pay the money'

(48)c.Bassey ekere ndinyam udua:'Bassey thinks to trade'(i.e. thinking of taking up trading as an occupation)
3 3

The differences between (47) and (48) lie in the fact that in (47) the contents of the complement clauses reflect the view, opinion or speech of the subject of the matrix, while in (48) this not the case; the view, opinion or speech is that of the speaker himself. This is an important distinction which will have a direct bearing on the derivation of imɔ as will be shown later.

However, some of these verbs like dɔhɔ and nim totally reject the infini-:tive complement clause, while others like tiŋ (tell) need a quasi verbal (QVB) /

(QVB) like abaŋa (about) to allow the infinitive. Thus (49) are ungrammatical:

(49)a. *Bassey ɔdɔhɔ ndidep moto: 'Bassey says to buy a car'

(49)b. *Arit etiŋ ndika : 'Arit tells to go'

If there is an intervening QVB between tiŋ and the infinitive, as in (48a), then the sentence is grammatical. In the case of dɔhɔ and nim, not even such an intervening QVB can save the sentence, as (50) show:

(50)a.*Bassey ɔdɔhɔ abaŋa ndidep moto :'Bassey says about to buy a car'

(50)b.*Akon enim abaŋa ndidɔ eti ebe:'Akon believes about to marry a good husband'

So with verbs like dɔhɔ and nim the complement clause always reflects the speech, view, opinion, etc. of the matrix subject, since no form of infinitive at all is allowed. This is not to say that the infinitive complement clause always reflects the speech, view, opinion, etc. of the speaker, any more than the ete complement clause always reflects only the speech, opinion, etc. of the subject of the matrix, as will become clear as we go on. What can be said at the moment is that with verbs like dɔhɔ and nim, ete is obligatorily required to relate the complement clause to the matrix clause and the content of the complement clause must reflect the view, opinion, speech, etc. of the matrix subject.

Unlike verbs like dɔhɔ, tiŋ, kere, etc. considered above, verbs like ma (like) and yom (want) do not allow the ete complementizer, even if they make the same differences in interpretation pointed out above. Thus (51) are grammatical but (52) are not:

(51)a. Etubom oyom ndikut fi :'The headmaster wants to see you'
1 2 3 4 1 2 --2--- 4

(51)b. Okon ama ndisin ntime : 'Okon likes to give trouble'
1 2 3 4 1 2 --3--- 4

(52)a.*Etubom oyom ete imɔ ikut fi:'The headmaster wanted that he saw you'

(52)b.*Okon ama ete imɔ isin ntime:'Okon likes that he gives trouble'

Even /

Even in (53), where the content of the complement clause reflects the desire or feeling of the matrix subject, ete does not occur:

(53)a. Bassey oyom imɔ ikpɔ ika :'Bassey wants he goes alone'
1 2 3 4 5 1 2 3 5 4

(53)b. Arit imaha fi ekpeme imɔ :'Arit doesn't like you to watch her'
1 2 3 4 5 1 ------2---- 3 4 5

The derivation of ete would appear to present some problem. Its occurrence in complexes to introduce a complement clause does not appear to be governed by syntactic factors. It is selected by some verbs in a rather unpredictable way. It is true verbs like dɔhɔ (say), tiŋ (tell), kop (hear), which could loosely be called verbs of saying, appear to require ete obligatorily. But verbs like kere (think), nyime (accept) biere (decide), yat esit (be angry), bene (beg), yire (insist), etc., which also require ete, though not obligatorily, hardly form a natural class. Nor do verbs like ma (like), yom (want), bet (wait) and these must not have the ete complementizer. We suggest therefore that each verb be individually marked with respect to the use of the complementizer. Those like dɔhɔ and nim which obligatorily require it should be marked [+Complementizer]; those like kere, biere, etc., which require ete depending on the relationship between the matrix subject and the content of the complement clause should be marked [±Complementizer]; and those like ma, yom, bet should be marked [-Complementizer], whatever the relationship between the matrix subject and the content of the complement clause.

The important thing to be noted is that although ete occurs in many cases where imɔ occurs, there is no justification to say that it is crucial for the occurrence of imɔ.

6.3.1 Imɔ/Mmimɔ :

Let us now turn to the use of imɔ/mmimɔ. The use of a morphologically distinct /

distinct pronoun form in indirect or reported speech is not peculiar to Efik. Clements (1973:2) gives a brief survey of the languages which do this;

> "Several years ago, R.C. Armstrong observed that several of the so-:called 'Kwa' group of languages employ morphologically distinct pronominal forms in reported speech to distinguish reference to the speaker from reference to other parties. He noted that such con-:trastive forms had been described for S. Idoma, and gave examples showing that Yoruba made similar distinctions (see Armstrong 1963). Comparable data have since come to light for Igbo (Carrell 1970) and Avatime (as Kevin Ford has pointed out to me). However, other 'Kwa' languages, such as the Akan group, seem not to have such forms, while languages outside this group such as Efik, Eskimo, Latin, Korean and Japanese have at least partially parallel phenomena.."

Clements then goes on to say "Ewe employs a unique form for such 'self-:reporting' or self-reference by a speaker: the pronoun ye with its regular plural ye-wo. It is used not only to report speech but also thoughts, desires, goals and so forth under certain narrowly defined grammatical conditions".

Efik uses a parallel form imɔ/mmimɔ, which contrasts with the regular third and second person pronouns enye/mmɔ and afo/mbufo, in the following ways. First, imɔ/mmimɔ invariably occurs in complement S's, as in (41) and (53). The verbs in whose complement clauses imɔ/mmimɔ occurs are verbs of saying, thinking, hearing, shouting, resolving, wishing, etc. Imɔ/mmimɔ also occurs in the complement clauses of the so-called 'psychological verbs', as in (54):

(54)a. Enem enye esit imɔ ndibe udomo: 'It pleases him heart to pass exam'
1 2 3 4 5 6 --1------- 2 3 5 6

(54)b. Ayat mma esit imɔ ndikut ndedehe ʌkpɔ
1 2c 3 4 c 5 6 ʃ7
'It angers Mother to see dirty things'
--1------ 2 5 6 7

It is important to emphasise that imɔ/mmimɔ occurs only in what could be regarded as reported or indirect speech. The term 'speech' is perhaps /

perhaps unfortunate since it implies verbal communication. For our purposes, however, we would wish it to cover such things as feelings, thoughts, desires, intentions, etc., understood but not explicitly expressed perhaps.

Second, as (55) show, imɔ occurs when the subject of the matrix is co-:referential with an NP in the complement clause and when the content of this complement clause reflects the speech or discourse, to use Kuno's term, of the matrix subject, rather than that of the speaker.

(55)a. Ata ekere ete imɔ imeye :'Ata thinks that he is handsome'
1 c 2 3 4 c 5 1 c 2 3 4c --5---------

(55)b. Okon enyime ete imɔ iyekpe isɔn oro:'Okon agreed he would pay the
1 c 2 3 4 c 5 6 7 1 2 4 -----5--- 7
debt'
6

Like the Ewe ye the use of imɔ in sentences such as (55) makes it quite clear that it refers only to the subject of the matrix Ata or Okon in (55a) and (55b) respectively, and not to any other person. In other words, there is no question of ambiguity in (55). If, however, the regular pronoun enye were used in place of imɔ, as in (56), then ambi-:guity might result, but in none of the interpretations would (55) be paraphrased:

(56)a. Ata ekere ete enye eye : 'Ata thinks that he is handsome'

(56)b. Okon enyime ete enye eyekpe isɔn oro
'Okon agreed that he would pay the debt'

In (56a) enye may refer to Ata, or to someone else. But if enye refers to Ata in (56a) as does imɔ in (55a), how do the two sentences differ in interpretation? The difference between (55a) and (56a) is that in the former, the complement clause reflects the thought of Ata himself while in the latter, the complement clause embodies what the speaker thinks of Ata, not necessarily what Ata himself thinks of himself. We will return to this distinction again and again, since as we will see, this distinction will be crucial to the derivation of imɔ. In (56b), however /

however, enye cannot refer to Okon otherwise the sentence would be un-:grammatical. So like (55b), (56b) is unambiguous but the two are not paraphrases.

If imɔ occurs only in complement clauses, then we should not expect it to occur in adjunct clauses. Accordingly, (57) are ungrammatical:

(57)a. *Okposuk edi Bassey minyeneke okuk, imɔ ima idep moto
1 2 3 4 5 6 7

'Although Bassey has no money, he bought a car'
1 2 3 4 5 6 7

(57)b. ?Ata ama aka do man imɔ ikekut Okon
1 2 3 4 5 6 7

'Ata went there for him to see Okon'
1 2 3 4 5 6 7

However, in pure Ibibio, (58a), which means the same as (57b), is grammatical:

(58)a.Ata ama aka do man imɔ ikekit Okon:'Ata went there for him to see Okon' which makes Ibibio look more like Ewe.

Predictably, (58a) is interpreted as expressing Ata's, not the speaker's, point of view. To express this in Efik or Efik-Ibibio, the speaker requires a verb of saying like dɔhɔ, as in (58b):

(58)b. Ata ɔdɔhɔ ete imɔ ikeka do man imɔ ikekut Okon
c c

'Ata said he went there for him to see Okon'

in which case imɔ ikeka do man imɔ ikekut Okon is a complement S. Perhaps we should add that if the speaker expresses his own, not Ata's, opinion, then (58c) is chosen:

(58)c. Ata ama aka do man enye ekekut Okon
c c

'Ata went there for him to see Okon'

Third, as Ewe ye but unlike Japanese zibun, the antecedent of imɔ cannot be the first person, thus (59) are ungrammatical:

(59)a.*Ami mma ŋkop nte imɔ imebe udomo:'I heard that I passed exam'

(59)b.*Nnyin ima ikop ite mmimɔ imebe udomo:'We heard that we passed exam'

Fourth, the antecedent of imɔ is characteristically the subject of the matrix, thus the following are ungrammatical, where this is not the case:

(60)a. /

(60)a. *Mmɔ ema esian Okon ete imɔ ikeka do
1 ---2----- 3 c 4 5 c 6 7

'They informed Okon that he went there'
1 2 3 4 5 6 7

(60)b. *Mbufo ema esian Ata ete Okon oyom imɔ
1 ---2----- 3 c 4 5 6 7 c

'You informed Ata that Okon wanted him'
1 2 3 4 5 6 7

Moreover, in (61a) imɔ can only refer to Bassey, the subject of the matrix:

(61)a. Bassey asian Okon ete imɔ iyedɔ ŋwan
1 c 2 3 4 5 c 6 7

'Bassey has told Okon that he would marry'
1 ---2---- 3 4 5 -----6,7---

If, however, imɔ refers to Okon, then (61b), which is ungrammatical, results:

(61)b. *Bassey asian Okon ete imɔ iyedɔ ŋwan
c c

'Bassey informed Okon that he would marry'
c c

However, as zibun in Japanese, imɔ may have an antecedent that is not the subject of the matrix. Consider the following:

(62)a. Ikɔ oro ama owut Bassey ete owo imaha imɔ
1 2 ---3---- 4 5 6 7 8

'The word showed Bassey that people don't like him'
2 1 3 4 5 6 -----7---- 8

(62)b. Utɔk oro ekpep Arit ete imɔ inyene ndinyene ime
1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9

'The quarrel showed Arit that she has to have patience'
2 1 3 4 5 6 7 8 9

where the antecedents of imɔ in (a) and (b) are the objects Bassey and Arit respectively. However, the subjects of such matrixes must be inanimate, thus (63) are ungrammatical, where this is not the case:

(63)a. *Ete owut Bassey ete owo imaha imɔ
c c

'Father has shown Bassey that people don't like him'
c c

(63)b. *Etubom ekpep Arit ete imɔ inyene ndinyene ime
c c

'The headmaster has taught Arit that she must have patience'
c c

But if imɔ refers to the subjects, Ete and etubom, then (63) would be perfectly grammatical.

With /

With the so-called 'psychological verbs' too, imɔ refers to the object, as (64) show:

(64)a. Enem Bassey esit imɔ ndika ŋwed
'It pleases Bassey heart for him to go to school'

where Bassey is the 'experiencer'. (64a) is derived from the structure underlying (64b):

(64)b. Im$_c$ɔ ndika ŋwed enem Bassey$_c$ esit
'For him to go to school pleases Bassey heart'

Unlike Ewe, as pointed out by Clements, there is never any doubt about who the 'experiencer' is in such sentences, for given other 'psychological verbs' like yat esit (be angry), akpa idem (surprised), (65) are derived from (66), where as in (64b), it is clear what the object - and therefore the experiencer - is:

(65)a. Ayat Ata$_c$ esit im$_c$ɔ ndidep akani moto
'It angers Ata for him to buy an old car'

(65)b. Ama akpa enye$_c$ idem im$_c$ɔ ndikut mi
'It surprised him for him to see me'

As in (62) the subject of the matrix is inanimate, being the abstract S, as (64b) and (66) show:

(66)a. Im$_c$ɔ ndidep akani moto ayat Ata$_c$ esit
'For him$_c$ to buy an old car angered Ata$_c$'

(66)b. Im$_c$ɔ ndikut mi ama akpa enye$_c$ idem: 'For him$_c$ to see me surprised him$_c$'

Fifth, the antecedent of imɔ, like that of Japanese zibun must be ani-:mate (except perhaps in some McCawlian world), thus (67) are ungra-:mmatical:

(67)a.*ŋwed enem esit ndidep imɔ: 'The book is pleased for it to be bought'

(67)b.*Akpa eto oro idem imɔ ndiduɔ: 'It surprises the tree for it to fall'

where imɔ refers to ŋwed (book) and eto (tree).

Sixth, the reflexive pronoun is influenced or controlled by imɔ, if it is the subject of the simplex in which the reflexive occurs. Consider (68)

(68)a. /

(68)a. Etim ama ebiere ete imɔ iyesin idem imɔ ŋwed
1 ---2------ 3 4 5 6 7)8

'Etim resolved that he would educate himself'
1 2 3 4 -----5,8----- --6,7--

(68)b. Iban oro ewut ete mmimɔ imekpone idem mmimɔ
1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8

'The women have shown that they respect themselves'
2 1 ----3----- 4 5 6 ---7,8----

Of course this must be seen as part of the reflexivization condition in Efik that the reflexive pronoun must agree with the subject of the simplex in number and person. Also controlled by imɔ is the possessive pronoun, thus we have (69):

(69) Etubom ama okop ete eyen imɔ eyedi
1 ---2---- 3 4 5 6

'The headmaster heard that his son would come'
1 2 3 5 4 6

where imɔ refers to etubom.

Not only does imɔ affect the reflexive and the possessive pronouns, it also affects the verb, if it is the subject of its own clause, as all the examples involving imɔ and (70) show:

(70)a. Bassey enyime ete imɔ iyenam utom oro
'Bassey has agreed that he would do the job'

(70)b. ŋkparawa oro enyime ete mmimɔ iyenam utom oro
'The young men have agreed that they would do the job'

Of course the control of the verb by imɔ when it is the subject of its own clause should be seen as part of the general rule that the verb must agree with the subject in number and person, just as the agreement between imɔ as subject and its coreferent reflexive pronoun must be seen as part of a general condition on reflexivization. In the case of imɔ, however, number is not overtly marked on the verb, since as (70) show, both imɔ and mmimɔ have the same form of the verb, iyenam.

Finally, imɔ is deletable, just like any other anaphoric pronoun in Efik. Thus (71a) and (71b) are paraphrases:

(71)a /

(71)a. Akon ebiere ete imɔ iyebe udomo oro

'Akon has resolved that she would pass the exam'

(71)b. Akon ebiere ete iyebe udomo oro

'Akon has resolved that she would pass the exam'

Now given the following:

(a) that the antecedent of imɔ must be animate at least;

(b) that it (i.e. the antecedent) is characteristically the subject of the matrix;

(c) that where (b) is not the case, then the subject of the matrix must be inanimate;

we hypothesize that where both the subject and the object of the matrix are animate, then imɔ can only refer to the subject.

So far we have shown that imɔ occurs when the subject or object of the matrix is coreferential with another NP in the complement clause. It is in fact this NP in the complement clause which takes the form of imɔ. However, this does not explain why imɔ occurs in (72a) but not in (72b); even though enye is in a complement clause and refers to Etim, just as imɔ does:

(72)a. Etim oyom fi ekpe imɔ okuk oro
1 c 2 3 4 5 c 6 7

'Etim wants you to pay him the money'
1 c 2 3 --4--- 5 c 7 6

(72)b. Etim oyom fi ekpe enye okuk oro
c c

'Etim wants you to pay him the money'

Perhaps we should add that enye in (72b) can refer to someone other than Etim. In other words, (72b) is ambiguous but (72a) is not, since the above hypothesis predicts that imɔ can only refer to Etim.

6.3.2 Subjective Versus Objective Involvement:

The difference between (72a) and (72b) lies in what we have already mentioned, namely the nature of the speaker's involvement in the content of /

of the complement clause. Since, as we have already pointed out, this will be found to be crucial to the occurrence - and therefore derivation - of imɔ, we would like to talk a little more about this phenomenon which is at the basis of Kuno's (1972) Direct Discourse analysis, which will be found to be very useful in our analysis. It matters in Efik - as well as in Japanese and English - whether the speaker gives his own opinion, view, feeling, desire, wishes, interpretation, etc. and thus subjectively involves himself; or whether he merely reports 'objectively', we might say, what the view, opinion, feeling, desire, wishes, inter-:pretation, etc. of the subject (or object) of the matrix (i.e. the person being talked about) is. When the speaker is involved in a per-:sonal way and gives his own version or interpretation of the discourse in the complement clause, we will call this 'subjective' involvement (from the speaker's point of view). When, however, the speaker gives the version or interpretation not from his own point of view but from the standpoint of the person being talked about or referred to, we will call this 'objective'. This corresponds more or less to the 'reportive' and 'non-reportive' style of narration in Japanese. It is the objec-:tive paraphrase which gives rise to imɔ/mmimɔ and which distinguishes (72a) from (72b). It is as if the speaker were saying in (72a), for example, that it is Etim, not the speaker himself, who suggested or told him the speaker that the hearer (fi) should pay him (Etim) the money. On the other hand, the suggestion in (72b) must be seen as reflecting that of the speaker himself, not of the subject of the matrix Etim. Imɔ strongly suggests that at one point in time there was a direct speech by the subject (or object) of the matrix. In the case of (72a) Etim's desire or wish was probably something like "Enye eyekpe mi okuk oro" ("He will pay me that money"). The difficulty is with verbs /

verbs like yom, kere, ma, nem esit, etc. (want, think, like, be happy) the feeling, desire, wish, etc. of the subject or object of the matrix is not necessarily verbal, so perhaps from the speaker's point of view the actual words are not as important as the impression that what the complement clause embodies is in fact the speech or discourse of the person being talked about. In the case of verbs which involve verbal communication, it is possible to give the direct speech or discourse of the matrix subject (or object). Thus in the case of (73a), Bassey must have said, "Ami meye", as (73b), which paraphrases (73a), shows:

(73)a. Bassey ɔdɔhɔ ete imɔ imeye:'Bassey said that he is handsome'

(73)b. Bassey ɔdɔhɔ , "Ami meye": 'Bassey said, "I am handsome" '

Whatever the case, what the speaker wishes to show in sentences like (72a) and (73a) is that at a point in time, the subject (or object) of the matrix S was in fact a first person - speaker - too. And it is a fact of Efik that this idea is expressed in a complex structure pattern involving a matrix S and a complement S, as in English. Therefore we believe the first person is the source of imɔ when it (i.e. first person NP) refers to another NP in the matrix under certain conditions. Later on we will formally propose that the source NP of imɔ should be the first person pronoun. It is this first person, we believe, that explains the matrix NP's awareness of the situation in the complement clause.

Perhaps the strongest evidence for this is that sentences like (74) can be paraphrased as (75):

(74)a. Etubom ɔkɔdɔhɔ ete imɔ iyekut kpukpru owo
1 2 3 4 5 6 7

'The headmaster said he would see everybody'
1 2 4 ----5--- --6,7----

(74)b. Okon ama ofiori ete imɔ idu ke mfuna
---1------ 2 3 4 5 6

'Okon shouted that he was in difficulty'
1 2 3 4 5 6

(75)a. /

(75)a. Etubom ɔdɔhɔ, "Ami nnyekut kupkpru owo"
'The headmaster said, "I will see everybody" '

(75)b. Okon ama ofiori, "Ami ndu ke mfuna"
'Okon shouted, "I am in difficulty" '

Interestingly, Kuno has shown that in comparable structures in both Japanese and English, zibun and the third person pronouns respectively, are derived from an underlying first person pronoun. It is this under-:lying first person pronoun, as his Direct Discourse analysis shows, which makes it impossible for a 'full-fledged noun-phrase' like John to occur as subject in certain complement clauses with certain matrix verbs, thus explaining the grammaticality of sentences like (76a) and (76b) and the ungrammaticality of (76c), which are Kuno's own examples:

(76)a. John$_i$ expects that he$_i$ will be elected

(76)b. That he$_i$ will be elected is expected by John$_i$

(76)c. *That John$_i$ will be elected is expected by him$_i$

The Direct Discourse analysis, as suggested by Kuno, is based on the fact that the content of the complement clause of some verbs like expect, claim, etc., in English represents the direct feeling, desire, speech, etc. of the matrix subject, while that of other verbs like deny, forget, etc., does not. In his own words, Kuno (1972:163) says:

> "One of the differences between verbs such as expect, claim, know, think, request, on the one hand, and verbs such as deny, forget, be aware (of), on the other, is that the content of the complement clause of the former represents 'more or less' the direct discourse of the matrix subject, while this is not the case for the latter".

Then Kuno goes on to show that in (76a) for example, "the content of John's expectation...is I will be elected".

In Efik, however, although there are verbs like dɔhɔ and nim whose complement clauses always represent the direct discourse, feeling or awareness of the matrix NP, there are also verbs like yom (want), kere /

kere (think), wut (show), etc. whose complement clause may or may not do so. It is actually verbs like the latter which give rise to sentences like (72a) and (72b), which as we explained differ semantically. (72a) must be assigned the interpretation in which the complement clause represents the direct discourse of the subject, Etim, while (72b) must not be so assigned.

Moreover, if a complement clause represents the direct speech or discourse of the matrix NP at a point in time, it is not difficult to see that at that point in time, this matrix NP (subject or object in Efik), was in fact the first person or speaker. So a direct speech or discourse representation of the matrix NP's interpretation of the situation necessarily involves the first person.

This 'first person direct feeling representation' (in Kuno's words) has an interesting consequence for us. We have hypothesized that imɔ refers to the subject of the matrix, unless this subject is inanimate. Given the fact that the antecedent of imɔ must be animate, this analysis in fact shows that with such verbs as dɔhɔ (say), nim (believe), sian (tell) etc. whose complement clause must represent the direct speech or discourse of a matrix NP, it is impossible for the first person in the complement clause to refer to the matrix object, if there is an animate subject. Consider, for example (78), which underlie (77):

(77)a. Etim$_c$ asian Bassey ete imɔ$_c$ imenam utom

'Etim$_c$ has told Bassey that he$_c$ has worked'

(77)b. Afo$_c$ eyedɔhɔ Mma$_1$ ete imɔ$_c$ ima$_2$idue

'You$_c$ will tell Mother that you$_c$ were$_2$wrong'

(78)a. Etim asian Bassey, "Ami nnam utom"

'Etim has told Bassey, "I am working" '

(78)b. Afo eyedɔhɔ Mma, "Ami mma ndue": 'You will tell Mother, "I was wrong" '

Since the complement clauses are objects any way, it is in fact only the /

the subject of the matrix verb who could have uttered them in each case. In other words, ami (I) of the complement clause can only refer to the subject of the matrix, unless that subject is such that it cannot, in our ordinary workaday life, be responsible for the content of the complement clause. Given (78a), for example, both Bassey and the complement clause (directly represented) are objects of the matrix verb, related to Etim, the subject, by way of sian (tell), the matrix verb. Since the complement S is also a direct discourse, it follows that direct discourse as a co-object of Bassey of the verb sian, so to say, cannot be uttered by this co-object, Bassey. But if the direct discourse in the complement clause in (78a) must be that of the matrix subject, it follows also, in my opinion, that the first person in this complement clause must refer to the subject too. It is this first person which will become imɔ eventually, by a process we will consider shortly.

It should be emphasised that this is true only in cases where the subject is animate. If, however, the subject is inanimate, as in (79a):

(79)a. Ikɔ oro owut Ata ete obio imaha imɔ
1 2 c 3 c

'The word has shown Ata that the village doesn't like him'
1 2

surely in this case, the complement clause can only represent what Ata, the object, has come to be aware of. And if (79b) is a representation that reflects what was actually in Ata's mind:

(79)b. Ikɔ oro owut Ata, "Obio imaha mi"

'The word has shown Ata, "The villages doesn't like me" '

it is conceivable that the awareness embodied in the complement sentence could be attributed to ikɔ oro (the word).

6.3.3 Derivation of imɔ /mmimɔ:

We have shown that the source of imɔ/mmimɔ lies in the first person pronoun ami/nnyin (I/we). We now wish to consider how this information may /

may be represented in our grammar and how this first person pronoun has come to assume the form im⊃/mmim⊃ in indirect speech or discourse. In other words, we wish to relate the direct speech or discourse of a speaker A at a point in time to the speaker B at the present moment. In fact, this is what im⊃/mmim⊃ is all about.

To do this we have to transform the direct discourse of the matrix sub-:ject or object to an indirect one. Now Kuno[3] has proposed a transfor-:mation called Indirect Discourse Formation to handle this problem in English and Japanese. If there is need for direct discourse analysis in Efik, as we have shown above, the transformation that converts this direct discourse to indirect naturally follows.

To chart a path for the above transformation, Kuno suggests that since some verbs in English take complement clauses that are direct discourse of the matrix NP while others take complement clauses whose contents do not represent the direct discourse of the matrix subject, this information should be made available to the grammar. Accordingly, verbs that take complement clauses should be marked in the lexicon "with respect to whether the complement clause represents a direct discourse of the matrix subject or someone else's". When the complement clause repre-:sents the direct discourse of the matrix subject, the first person pronoun in this clause is deemed to be coreferential with the subject of the matrix.

As in English, there are verbs in Efik whose complement clauses must contain only the direct discourse or feeling of the matrix subject. In general such verbs obligatorily require the complementizer ete. However, it /

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3. In an earlier version of this Section we suggested, independently of Kuno's analysis, that there must be a rule of this kind and referred to it as Reported Speech Pronoun Shift.

it does not necessarily mean that the function of ete is to introduce complement clauses whose contents represent the direct discourse of the matrix subject. There are cases where ete introduces complement clauses whose contents do not represent the direct discourse of the matrix subject, as in (56a).

There are, however, other verbs like kere (think), wut (show), kop (hear), etc., whose complement clause may or may not represent the direct discourse of the matrix NP. Let us suppose that this property can be represented as a syntactic feature of some verbs and let us call this feature [DD] (for direct discourse). We suggest that verbs whose complement clause always represent the direct discourse of the matrix subject (or object) should be marked [+DD] in the lexicon and those whose complement clause optionally do so, as it were, marked [±DD]. Thus in (55a) and (56a), repeated below:

(55)a. Ata ekere ete imɔ imeye : 'Ata thinks that he is handsome'

(56)a. Ata ekere ete enye eye : 'Ata thinks that he is handsome'

the verb kere is [+DD] in (55a) and [-DD] in (56a).

Given this sort of marking on the verbs that take complement clauses, we will say that the Indirect Discourse Formation rule in Efik is defined over a complex structure with a complement S and applies on condition that the matrix verb is [+DD]. Therefore the feature [+DD] on the matrix verb triggers off the Indirect Discourse Formation.

To show how a proper analysis for the Indirect Discourse Formation rule looks like, let us consider (80a):

(80)a. Bassey ɔdɔhɔ ete imɔ imebe udomo

'Bassey has said that he has passed the exam'

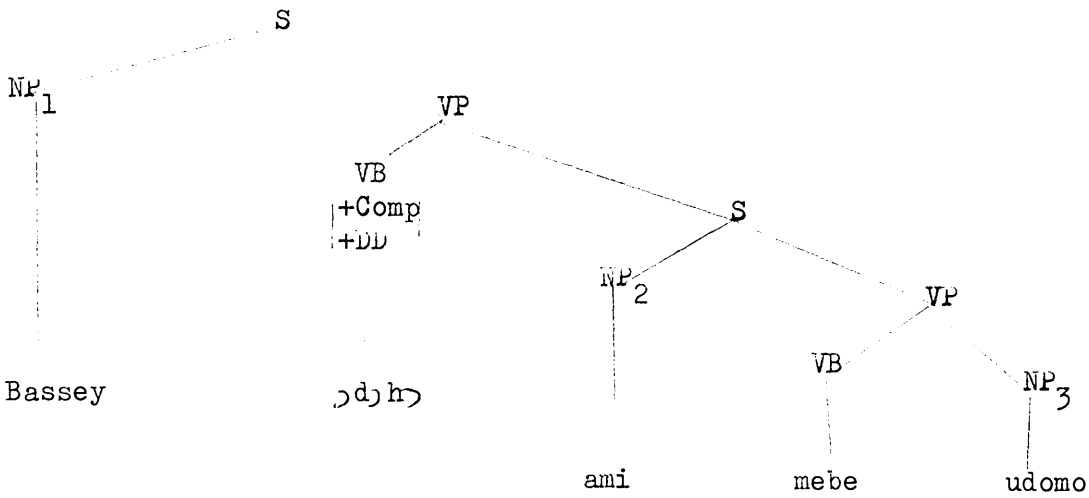
According to the Direct Discourse analysis, (80a) is derived from (80b):

(80)b. /

(80)b. Bassey ɔdɔhɔ, "Ami mebe udomo"

'Bassey has said, "I have passed the exam" '

(80b) is structured as 81 below, omitting details that are not necessary:



81.

Before we consider how the rule actually applies, let us look at the problem of coreference.

Although Bassey and ami in (81) differ in Person feature - the former is [+III] while the latter is [+I] - yet intuitively we know that ami is in fact the same person as Bassey. The problem arises because we have maintained that coreference between NPs require sameness in features of Number and Person.

However, in Direct Discourse analysis, it has been shown that the com-:plement clause embodies the direct discourse of the matrix subject (or object) as a speaker at a point in time. It has also been shown that the first person in such a direct representation must refer to the matrix subject, if this subject is animate, or the object, if the latter but not the former is animate.

There appears therefore to be a principle of coreference in a Direct Discourse analysis which if properly formulated can relate NPs which we know intuitively to be coreferntial, even though they differ in Person.

(82) /

(82) Coreference Principle in Direct Discourse:

Given a Direct Discourse Representation, the first person in the complement clause refers to the matrix subject if this NP is [+Animate], or to the matrix object, where the subject is [-Animate] but the object itself is [+Animate].

To show that the above Principle is false, one has to show that there are cases where the speaker is not (or is not seen to be) the first person, for the Direct Discourse hypothesis implies that the subject (or object in the case of Efik) of the matrix was (or will be) at a point in time the first person (speaker) of his own speech, feeling, thought, etc.

Returning now to the application of Indirect Discourse Formation, it is well to remember that this rule is defined over a complex structure with a complement S and applies on condition that the verb is marked [+DD] (i.e. the complement clause represents the direct discourse of an NP in the matrix). When the rule applies, it changes the first person pronoun form ami/nnyin (I/We) to imɔ/mmimɔ if the matrix coreferent counterpart (i.e. the antecedent) is [-I] (i.e. it is not also a first person). This is then how imɔ/mmimɔ is derived from an underlying first person pronoun.

However, it does appear that it is not only the first person that is changed with the application of Indirect Discourse Formation. Consider (83):

(83)a. Etim$_c$ asian Arit$_i$ ete enye$_i$ ebine imɔ$_c$

'Etim$_c$ has told Arit$_i$ that she$_i$ should join him$_c$'

According to the Direct Discourse hypothesis, (83a) is derived from (83b):

(83)b. Etim asian Arit, "Afo bine mi":'Etim has told Arit, "You join me" '

As (83) indicate the second person in the complement S is changed to enye (or mmɔ) when the direct discourse represented is converted to indirect /

indirect one. Observe that the afo (you) in (83b) cannot possibly refer to anyone other than Arit (given a [+DD] marking on the matrix verb) who was in fact Etim's hearer at the time he spoke. So in Efik where the matrix S has two animate NPs as subject and object, the first person in the complement clause must refer to the matrix subject while the second person in the same clause must refer to the matrix object. (84a) is in fact not a paraphrase of (83a), since the ancestor of imɔ, ami can only refer to the subject, as (82) correctly predicts.

(84)a. Etim_{c} asian Arit_{i} ete imɔ_{c} iyebine enye_{i}

'Etim has told Arit that he will join her'

(84a) is derived from (84b):

(84)b. Etim asian Arit, "Ami nnyebine fi"

'Etim has told Arit, "I will join you" '

The difference between (83) and (84) is that in the former the ancestor of imɔ, ami is object in the former, whereas in the latter, it is the subject of the complement S. The second person afo in (83) of course has swapped places with the first person ami in (84). Observe that the changes take place independently of the position of functional role of these first and second person pronouns. We should point out that (84a) can be ambiguous, since enye may refer to someone other than Arit. Of course the someone cannot be Etim, the object, otherwise the sentence would be woefully ungrammatical.

Since the second person in the complement clause in direct discourse analysis must refer to the matrix object given a complex structure with both animate subject and object, (82) needs some revision, namely as (85):

(85) Coreference Principle in Direct Discourse Representation:

In a Direct Discourse Representation, the First Person in the complement clause refers to the matrix subject if it is animate, or to the object if the former is inanimate and the latter animate, while /

while the Second Person refers to the object if both subject and object are animate.

The second part of the above Principle implies that the matrix object is the same person that the matrix subject addressed in the direct dis-:course. Naturally the addressee was the hearer. We should point out that this is only applicable to verbs like sian (tell, inform), dɔhɔ (say), fiori (shout), etc., which can take both human subject and object. They may be referred to as 'verbs of saying'.

So far, we have not shown how the rule that introduces the ete comple-:mentizer relates to Indirect Discourse Formation. In actual fact, this rule applies independently of Indirect Discourse Formation, since, as we have already shown, the occurrence of ete does not necessarily indicate that the complement clause represents the direct discourse of the matrix subject, or object. The use of the complementizer therefore is just another feature of the kind of verbs we have been dealing with and is independent of [+DD] or [-DD]. Ordering wise, it does not appear to matter whether the introduction of the complementizer as a segment precedes or follows Indirect Discourse Formation.

6.3.4 Indirect Discourse Formation and Reflexivization:

We said earlier on that imɔ affects the reflexive pronoun if it is the subject of the clause in which the reflexive is object. Since clearly reflexivization precedes the Indirect Discourse Formation rule - the latter is a kind of simple pronominalization - reflexivization should be allowed to apply as usual. Then the Indirect Discourse Formation rule will follow, changing all the pronouns that are changeable.

Thus taking (86a), which is derived from (86b):

(86)a. Bassey ɔdɔhɔ ete imɔ inam idem imɔ: 'Bassey says he is harming himself'

(86)b. Bassey ɔdɔhɔ, "Ami nnam ami": 'Bassey says, "I am harming I" '

When /

When the Indirect Discourse Formation rule applies, it will change not only ami but also mmi, which are of course both first person, to imɔ in both cases. In this way, (86a) will be generated when the introduction of ete also takes place.

So imɔ is not derived by the ordinary simple pronominalization rule. It is in this way that we can account for the difference between (87a) and (87b):

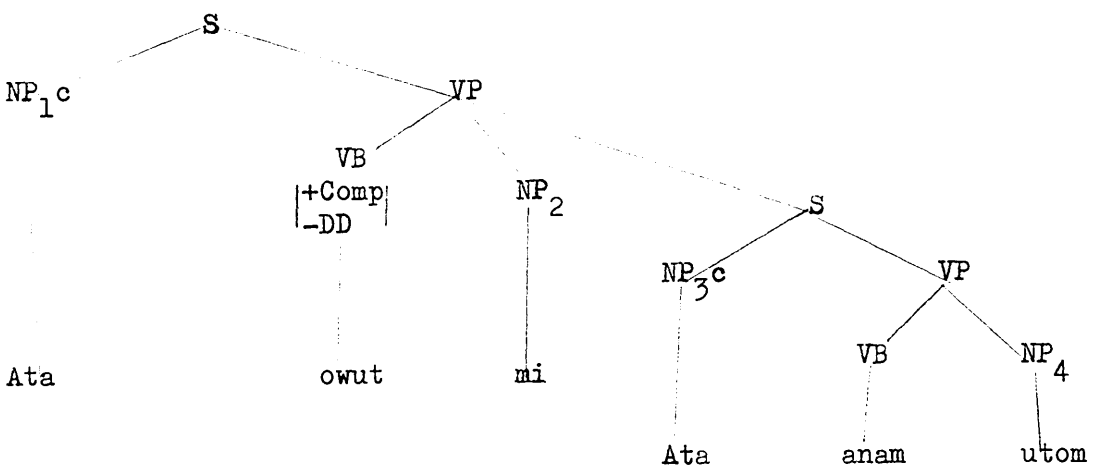
(87)a. Ata$_c$ owut mi ete imɔ$_c$ imenam utom

'Ata has shown me that he is working'

(87)b. Ata$_c$ owut mi ete enye$_c$ anam utom

'Ata has shown me that he is working'

In (87a), the complement clause represents the direct mind or so of Ata as seen from Ata's own point of view. Therefore wut is [+DD] in (87a). In (87b), however, it is the speaker's subjective interpretation of the situation and the complement clause does not therefore represent the direct discourse of the subject of the matrix Ata. Wut (show) in this case is [-DD]. Imɔ in (87a) is therefore derived via Indirect Discourse Formation while enye in (87b) is derived by ordinary simple pronominalization rule. The deep structure of (87b) therefore is 88, leaving out the details:



88.

The /

The feature -DD therefore blocks Indirect Discourse Formation, since the representation is not a direct discourse representation. That is 88 is not a proper analysis for Indirect Discourse Formation but of simple pronominalization. When this rule and segmentalization of the complementizer apply, (87b) will finally be generated.

So it is now clear that the source of imɔ/mmimɔ is the first person. Many of the syntactic characteristics we have listed above strongly suggest that apart from its form, imɔ/mmimɔ cannot be derived like enye/mmɔ with which it contrasts.

6.4 Simple Pronominalization in Structures with Co-ordinate NPs and S's:

We will define a co-ordinate NP as an NP which dominates two or more NPs conjoined by the co-ordinating conjunction ye, and a co-ordinate Sentence as a Sentence which dominates two or more Sentences conjoined by the co-ordinating conjunction nyuŋ. A co-ordinate sentence of this kind will hereafter be referred to as simply a co-ordinate structure. In this section, we will concern ourselves with simple pronominalization in structures underlying such sentences as (89) and (90):

(89)a. Man Bassey ye Okon ekure utom oro, nnyin iyekpe mmɔ okuk
1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8

'In order for Bassey and Okon to finish the work, we will pay them money'
1 2 4 3 5 6 7 8

(89)b. Ayat ŋkaiferi ye akparawa oro esit mmɔ ndikut mi
1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8

'It has annoyed the girl and the boy to see me'
1 5 2 3 4 7 8

(90)a. Effiong ama okut etubom onyuŋ otoro enye
1 2 3 4 5

'Effiong saw the headmaster and thanked him'
1 2 3 4 5

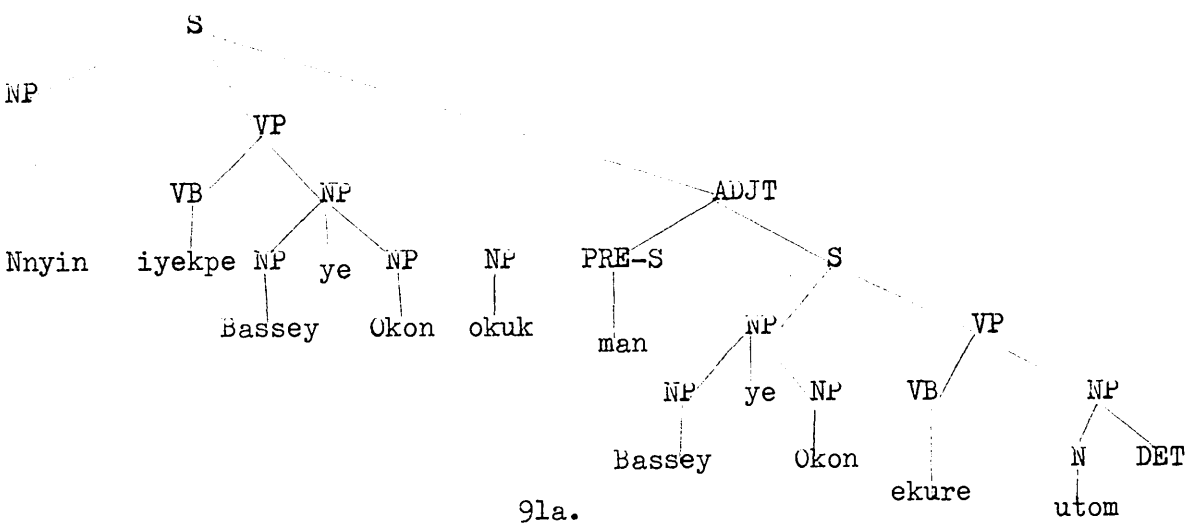
(90)b. Iban oro ema ekut fi enyuŋ ekɔm
1 2 3 4 5 6

'The women saw you and greeted you'
2 1 3 4 5 6

We /

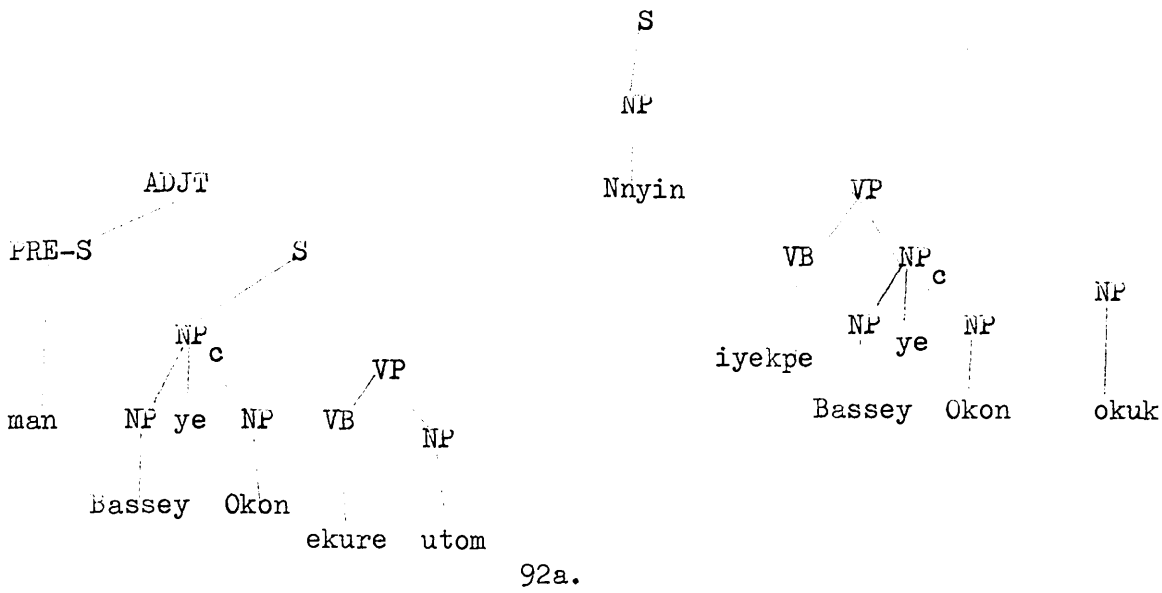
We will begin by describing how co-ordinate NPs are pronominalized, given the structures underlying sentences such as (89). In Chapter Five (cf.5.3.1), we showed how reflexivization applies in simplexes with co-ordinate NPs. It was suggested that in such simplexes reflexivi-:zation should apply "recursively...so long as each pair of coreferent NPs are dominated by superdinate NPs which stand in subject-object relationship and so long as the constituent NP subjects are coreferen-:tial with the constituent NP objects".

Now in complex structures, co-ordinate NPs, given coreference, are pro-:nominalized, as the surface sentences in (89) show. As in the case of reflexivization, simple pronominalization (as in fact suggested by Koutsoudas (1971)) applies recursively with respect to co-ordinate NPs. Let us consider (89a) which is derived from 91a:



91a.

As usual in a structure like 91a, the preposing rule will apply bringing the Adjunct S forward and thus generating 92a, which is an input to simple pronominalization:



92a.

Simple pronominalization is now ready to operate on 92a. As suggested above, this rule applies recursively in a structure like 92a, where a pair of coreferent co-ordinate NPs dominate identical constituent NPs. After the rule has applied (92b) is generated:

(92)b.*Man Bassey ye Okon ekure utom oro, nnyin iyekpe enye ye enye okuk
'For Bassey and Okon to finish the work, we will pay him and him money'

The Pronoun Conjunction Rule (cf.5.3.2) will obligatorily generate mm ɔ from enye ye enye and thus (89a) will be generated.

Simple pronominalization can of course apply in a backward direction in 92a. So it does not appear to matter whether the NPs are single or co-ordinate, simple pronominalization applies optionally in a structure like 92a. Thus (93) is not only grammatical, but also a paraphrase of (89a), with the application of simple pronominalization in a backward direction:

(93). Man mm ɔ ekure utom oro, nnyin iyekpe Bassey ye Okon okuk
'For them to finish the work, we will pay Bassey and Okon money'

It should be observed, as we have already pointed out, that co-ordinate NPs behave very much like single plural NPs. The fact that given a structure such as 92a, backward pronominalization is permissible, irrespective /

irrespective of whether the pronominalizable NP is single or co-ordinate, strongly supports our analysis of co-ordinate NPs as phrasally derived. In this way, the backward condition is not violated, since the pro-:nominalizable NP is in a subordinate clause.

Next, let us consider another example, this time involving mmimɔ.

(94)a. Etim ye Akon enim ete mmimɔ iyekut utom
1 2 3 4 5

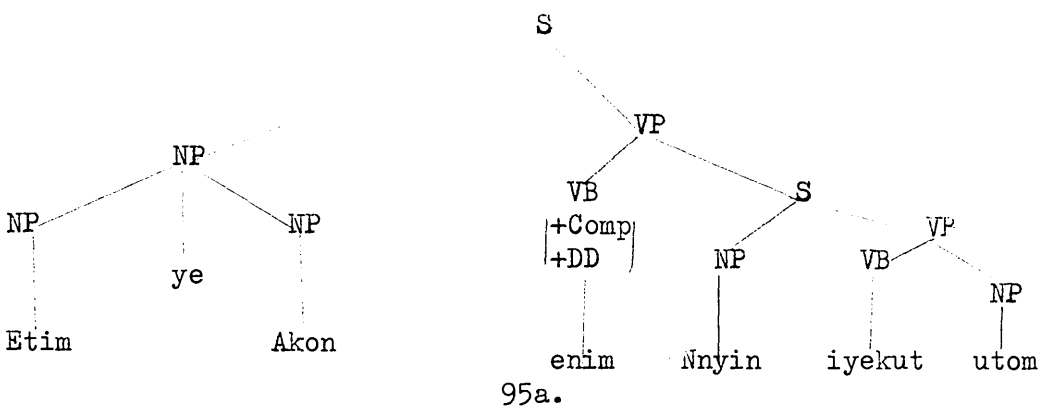
'Etim and Akon believe that they will find a job'
1 2 3 4 5

According to the Direct Discourse hypothesis discussed in the last section (94a) is derived from (94b):

(94)b. Etim ye Akon enim, "Nnyin iyekut utom"

'Etim and Akon believe, "We will find a job" '

According to this hypothesis, the verb nim is [+DD]. Omitting unnece-:ssary details, (94b) is then structured as 95a.



95a.

Since 95a is a direct discourse representation, the Coreference Principle in such a representation will mark nnyin, the first person pronoun and subject of the complement clause, coreferential with the subject of the matrix S, which is the co-ordinate NP Etim ye Akon. 95a is of course a proper analysis for Indirect Discourse Formation and when the rule applies, nnyin is changed to mmimɔ, since the antecedent of nnyin is not only [-I] but also [+Animate]. In this way (94a) is generated. It is a measure of the strength of the direct discourse analysis that even co-ordinate NPs present no problems in the derivation of mmimɔ.

6.4.1 /

6.4.1 Simple Pronominalization in Co-ordinate Structures:

In 5.3.3, we considered some of the syntactic properties of nyuŋ and showed that it can only co-ordinate sentences (unlike ye which can only co-ordinate NPs). Among other things it was shown that since sentences like (96a) and (96b) are synonymous

(96)a. Effiong ama aka okokut Okon :'Effiong went and saw Okon'
---1--- 2 1 2

(96)b. Effiong ama aka onyuŋ okokut Okon:'Effiong went and saw Okon'
---1--- 2 3 1 2 3

then (96a) is derived from (96b) by the deletion of the conjoining element nyuŋ. For this reason, we reject a serial construction analysis, for sentences like (96a) since as (96b) shows clearly (96a) is in fact a compound sentence involving two co-ordinate sentences (cf.2.10 and 5.3.5). It happens to be a fact of Efik that the conjoining element is not only deletable but must also agree in number and person with the subject of one of the conjuncts.

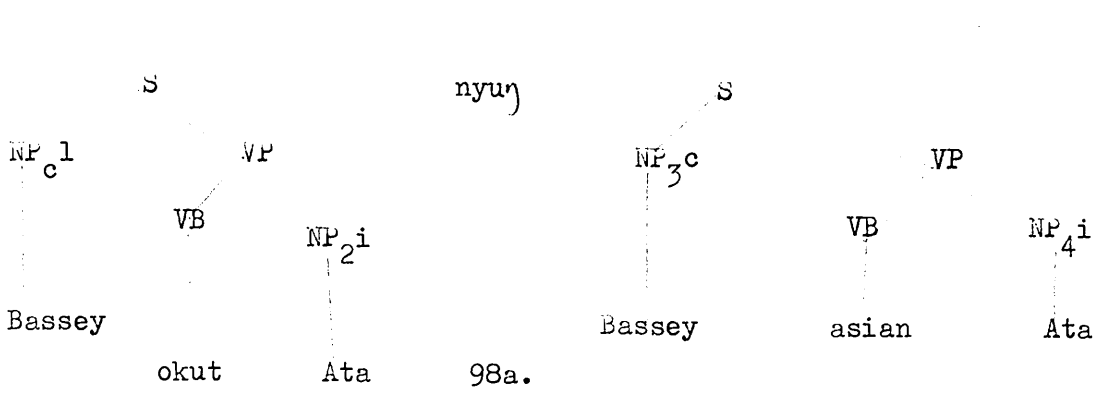
One important thing to note in this section is nyuŋ conjunction does not allow backward simple pronominalization, thus (97) are ungrammatical:

(97)a. *Bassey ama okut mmɔ eteme iban oro usuŋ
---1---- 2 c 3 4 c 5
'Bassey saw them and showed the women way'
1 2 c 3 4 c 5

(97)b. *Bassey ama okut mmɔ onyuŋ eteme iban oro usuŋ
'Bassey saw them and showed the women way'
c c

Let us now try to see how simple pronominalization operates in co-ordinate structures involving nyuŋ. Now consider (98) which is structured as 98a, omitting details.

(98)Bassey okut Ata onyuŋ asian enye:'Bassey has seen Ata and told him'
1 2 3 4 ---1---- 2 3 4



98a

98a has two pairs of coreferent NPs. Clearly NP_2 can be used to pronominalize NP_4, thus generating (98b):

(98)b. *Bassey okut Ata onyuŋ Bassey asian enye
'Bassey has seen Ata and Bassey has told him'

The question is should NP_1 be used to pronominalize NP_3 and thus generate (98c)?

(98)c. *Bassey okut Ata onyuŋ enye asian enye
'Bassey has seen Ata and he has told him'

and then have enye the subject of the second conjunct obligatorily deleted to generate (98), as we did with similar NPs in complex structures (cf.6.2)?

Yes, there is evidence that the subject of the second or following conjunct such as NP_3 in 98a is in fact pronominalized. Consider (99):

(99). Ime akawak ŋwed oro, kpa enye okonyuŋ akasian etubom
1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8

'Ime tore the book, he also told the headmaster' (about the tearing of the book)
1 3 2 5 6 7 8

where the presence of emphasis (as indicated by the emphatic word kpa) demands that the subject of the second conjunct be not deleted. Surely enye in (99) must be derived from an underlying NP Ime by simple pronominalization. (99) is therefore a clear indication that the subject of the second (or following conjuncts in general) is pronominalized, provided of course it has an antecedent.

Consider /

Consider also (100):

(100). Bassey ama aka do edi enye ikekwe etubom
1 2 3 4 5 6 7

'Bassey past morph. go there but he didn't see the headmaster'
----1------ 2 3 4 5 ------6--- 7

Again enye in (100) must be derived from an underlying NP Bassey by simple pronominalization. It could be argued that edi (but) is a different kind of conjoining element. It is nonetheless a conjoining element. Moreover, it conjoins sentences, just as nyuŋ does, the only difference is that while nyuŋ conjoins positive or affirmative sentences, edi conjoins sentences which contrast (usually one positive, the other negative).

It seems plausible from these two pieces of evidence to claim that subjects of second conjuncts (or following conjuncts in general) are pronominalized. Such subjects are not to be deleted, if they are emphatic. If, however, they are not emphatic, they are obligatorily deleted. This is meant to apply to nyuŋ co-ordination only. Of course in the case of edi conjunction, the subject of the second conjunct is optionally deleted, thus (101) below is derived from (100) by the deletion of enye.

(101). Bassey ama aka do edi ikekwe etubom

'Bassey went there but he did not see the headmaster'

Returning to 98a, we can now say that in a structure like that, simple pronominalization applies recursively. When NP_2 is used to pronominalize NP_4, then (98b) is generated, as already shown above. When the rule applies again, then NP_1 will be used to pronominalize NP_3 and thus generating (98c), again as shown above. Then when the subject of the second conjunct is deleted by coreference with the subject of the first conjunct, (98) is finally generated.

(98)Bassey okut Ata onyuŋ asian enye:'Bassey has seen Ata and told him'

We should point out that enye, the object of the second conjunct is optionally /

optionally deletable in (98), as (102) is not only grammatical but also synonymous with (98):

(102)Bassey okut Ata onyuŋ asian:'Bassey has seen Ata and told him'

The deletion of this object NP, a right branch, as the figure in 98a shows, calls into question once again Koutsoudas' claim stated below:

> "In all languages where objects can be reduced, the reductions obey the Directionality Constraint".

The Directionality Constraint attributed to Ross is stated as follows:

> "The order in which Gapping operates depends on the order of elements at the time the rule applies, if the identical elements are left branches, Gapping operates forward, if they are right branches, it operates backward".

Returning to Figure 98a above, according to Koutsoudas, it is NP_2, the object of the first conjunct which should be deleted or reduced and not NP_4, the object of the second conjunct. However, if this object is deleted in obedience to the Directionality Constraint, ungrammaticality results, as (103) shows:

(103)*Bassey okut onyuŋ asian Ata : 'Bassey has seen and told Ata'

It is for this reason that we think Koutsoudas' Co-ordination Deletion rule, which is supposed to collapse both Gapping and Conjunction Reduction rules, cannot adequately handle deletion in nyuŋ co-ordination, at least, in Efik, as we have already pointed out in 5.3.5.

So pronoun deletion in co-ordinate structures is similar to pronoun deletion in complex structures. Recall that in 6.2 we proposed a hypothesis concerning the deletion of pronouns in complex sentences with infinitive embedding. We restate the hypothesis here:

> A pronoun is obligatorily deletable if (a) it is the subject of the embedded S in an infinitive sentence and coreferential with a matrix NP, and (b) the embedded S itself is an object of the matrix verb; otherwise it is optionally deletable.

The /

The similarities between the deletion of subject and object NPs in complex structures with infinitive clauses and in co-ordinate structures involving nyuŋ can be captured by restating the above hypothesis thus:

> Given Coreference, a pronoun is obligatorily deleted if it is the subject of an infinitive object clause, or an unemphatic subject of a right branching conjunct of nyuŋ, otherwise it is optionally deletable.

This statement of course also accounts for pronoun deletion in complex sentences with adjunct clauses where the pronouns are optionally deleted (cf.6.1.2).

6.5 Simple Pronominalization and Locative Pronouns:

The following are locative pronouns:

mi (here); do (there, near you); ko (yonder, away from both speaker and hearer)

The deictic functions of these pronouns are pretty obvious from the above glosses. They correspond to the first, second and third persons respectively. Thus the combinations in (104) are possible:

(104)a. Ami mi : 'I here'
(104)b. Afo do : 'You there'
(104)c. Enye ko : 'He/she/it yonder'

But also possible are the following combinations:

(105)a. Afo mi : 'You here'
(105)b. Enye mi : 'He/she/it here'
(105)c. Enye do : 'He/she/it there'

However, the following combinations are not permissible:

(106)a. *Ami do : 'I there'
(106)b. *Ami ko : 'I yonder'
(106)c. *Afo ko : 'You yonder'

The following picture, therefore, appears to emerge:

Mi (here, near the speaker) combines with all three persons, thus we have /

have (104a), (105a) and (105b) above;

Do (near the hearer but away from the speaker) combines with two persons, second and third, thus we have (104b) and (105c);

Ko (yonder, away from both speaker and hearer) combines only with one person, namely the third person, thus we have (104c) but not (106b) and (106c).

This is interesting, since according to Lyons (1968:275) "the typical situation of utterance is egocentric...the speaker is always at the centre, as it were, of the situation of utterance".

Not only do locative pronouns co-occur with personal pronouns, they also co-occur with demonstratives, thus the following combinations are possible and quite usual:

(107)a. Ami emi mi : 'I this here'
(107)b. Afo oro do : 'You that there'
(107)c. Enye oko ko : 'He/she/it yonder yonder'

However, our main concern is with the anaphoric use of these locative pronouns. Consider the following examples with anaphoric mi and do:

(108)a. Edieke odude ke obio emi, enyene ndinam utom mi
1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9
'If you are in this town, you have to work here'
1 2 3 5 4 6 7 9

(108)b. Edieke edidude ke ufɔk, nnyekut fi do
1 2 3 4 5 6 7
'If you will be at home, I will see you there'
1 2 3 4 5 6 7

Before we consider the derivation of anaphoric locative pronouns like mi and do above, let us consider what these pronouns actually replace when they are used anaphorically. In examples like those in (108) they appear to replace prepositional phrases, namely ke obio emi and ke ufɔk. However, consider the following:

(109) Nnyeka Uyo edieke Bassey akade do
1 2 3 4
'I will go to Uyo, if Bassey goes there'
1 2 3 4

where do replaces a locative NP Uyo, since (109) is derived from (110):

(110) /

(110) Nnyeka Uyo, edieke Bassey akade Uyo
'I will go to Uyo if Bassey goes to Uyo'

Observe that (111) is impossible:

(111) *Nnyeka ke Uyo, edieke Bassey akade ke Uyo
'I will go in Uyo if Bassey goes in Uyo'

In fact, in Efik movement to or away from a place does not usually require a preposition, as (109) and (110) above, and (112) below show:

(112) Nnykpɔŋ Uyo : 'I will leave Uyo'

That being the case, it will be difficult to maintain the position that locative pronouns replace the entire prepositional phrase like ke obio emi (in this town) and ke ufɔk (at home). But if they do not replace the entire prep-phrase in examples like (108a) and (108b), how can we explain the ungrammaticality of (113)?

(113)a. *Edieke edidude ke ufɔk, nnyekut fi ke do
'If you will be at home, I will see you at there'

(113)b. *Edieke odude ke obio emi, enyene ndinam utom ke mi
'If you are in this town, you have to work in here'

The most plausible explanation of this matter, in our view, is that the preposition is obligatorily deleted after simple pronominalization on condition that the pronominalized NP is (+Place) and the entire prepo-:sitional phrase dominated by an Adjunct. Strong support for this analysis is the fact that there are instances where pronominalization of an NP in a prepositional phrase affects only the NP and not the entire phrase, as (114) indicate:

(114)a.Edieke Bassey amade, nnyesaŋa ye enye:'If Bassey likes, I will go with him'
1 2 3 4 1 2 3 4

(114)b. Kini Ata okodude ke Uyo, ɔkenam utom ye enye
1 2 3 4 5 6 7
'When Ata was at Uyo, I worked with him'
1 2 3 4,5 6 7

If enye is anaphoric, surely it refers to Bassey and Ata respectively. It follows therefore that pronominalization must have taken place on NPs /

NPs rather than on the prepositional phrases in (114), since the prepo-:sition ye is intact in each case even after this rule. Observe that in these cases, Bassey and Ata are -Place and are not dominated by an Adjunct. It seems clear therefore that where a locative NP, mostly in cases involving no movement, is preceded by a preposition, such a pre-:position is obligatorily deleted, after simple pronominalization. Such a deletion is not ad hoc. Recall that in Chapter Five (cf.5.3.1) it was shown that the preposition ke is deletable in a co-ordination involving locative phrases. Thus (115b) is derived from (115a) by such deletion:

(115)a. Bassey ama anam utom ke Uyo ye ke Calabar
---1---- 2 3 4 5

'Bassey worked in Uyo and in Calabar'
-1,2-- 3 4 5

(115)b. Bassey ama anam utom ke Uyo ye Calabar: 'Bassey worked in Uyo and Calabar'

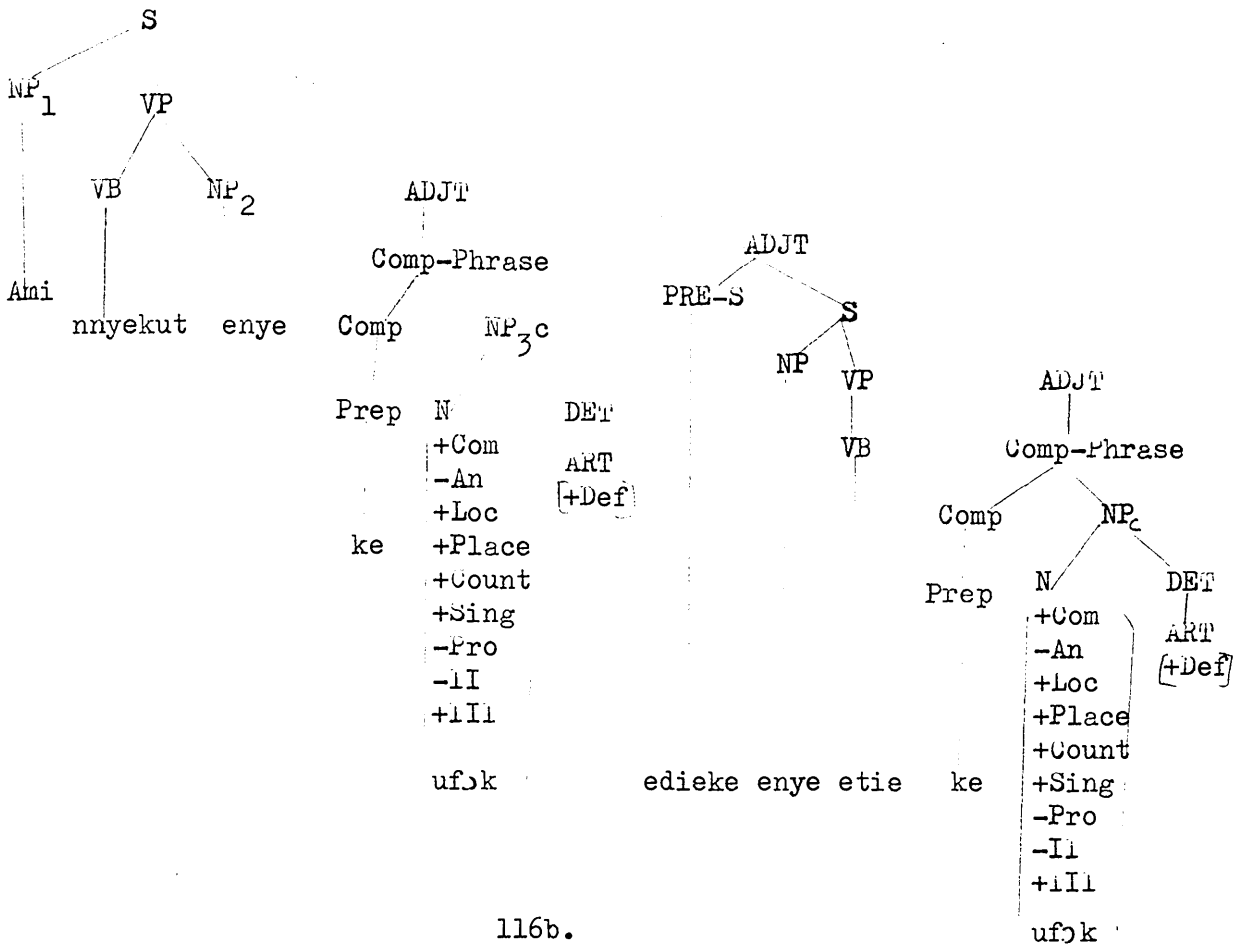
The difference is just that in structures underlying sentences like (108) the deletion is obligatory while in structures underlying sentences like (115a), the deletion is optional.

Let us now consider how an anaphoric locative pronoun may be derived by considering the following example:

(116)a. Edieke enye etiede ke ufɔk, ami nnyekut enye dɔ
1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8

'If he stays at home, I will see him there'
1 2 3 4 5 6 ----7--- 8

Let us suppose that a matrix S may have more than one adjunct. If so, (116a) would be structured as 116b, omitting details that are not rele-:vant to the pronominalization of the locative NP:



Since the two occurrences of ufɔk are coreferential, simple pronomi-:nalization will apply as usual after the rule which preposes the embedded clause. The form the pronoun takes is determined by several factors, namely, domination by Adjunct, the feature [+Place] and evidence of proximity or non-proximity. The first two are necessary for all locative pronouns to distinguish them from other pronouns like personal pronouns, reflexive pronouns, etc. The last one is for the difference between mi (here) and do (there). The selection of mi and do is usually contextually determined unless the NPs involved have demonstrative determiners such as emi (this) and oro (that), in which case the selection of mi or do can be grammatically determined, as in (117):

(117)a. Edieke Bassey odude ke ufɔk emi, nnyekut enye mi
'If Bassey is in this house, I will see him here'

(117)b. /

(117)b. Edieke Bassey odude ke ufɔk oro, nnyekut enye do

'If Bassey is in that house, I will see him there'

In general do occurs anaphorically more frequently than mi. We should point out that ko (yonder) is never used anaphorically, thus the following are ungrammatical:

(118)a. *Edieke nnyin idude ke Uyo$_c$, nnyin iyenam utom ko$_c$

'If we are at Uyo$_c$, we will work yonder$_c$'

(118)b. *Edieke akade ebiet oko, tie ko: 'If you go yonder place, stay yonder'
1 2 3 4 5 6 1 ---2-- 4 3 5 6

Finally, observe that backward pronominalization of locative NPs is allowed subject to the same 'command and precedes' constraint, as (119) shows:

(119)a. Edieke enye edide do$_c$, nnyin iyekut enye ke ufɔk$_c$

If he comes there, we will see him at home'

(119)b. *Nnyin iyekut enye do edieke enye edide ufɔk$_c$
1 2 3 4c 5 6 7 8

'We will see him there if he comes home'
1 ----2--- 3 4 5 6 7 8

The fact that the pronominalization of locative pronouns is subject to the same constraint as the pronominalization of ordinary NPs strongly supports our derivation of locative pronouns by simple pronominalization.

CHAPTER SEVEN

POSSESSIVE PRONOMINALIZATION

7.0 Introduction:

By Possessive Pronominalization we mean the pronominalization process by which the pronominal forms mmi (my), fo (your), esie (his/her/its), nnyin (our), mbufo (your pl), mmɔ (their) are derived in cases where they have coreferent interpretations[1], as in (1):

(1)a. Ami nnyom udeme mmi : 'I want my share'
$_{1}$ $_{2}$ $_{1}$ $_{2}$

(1)b. Afo oyom udeme fo : 'You want your share'

(1)c. Enye oyom udeme esie : 'He/she wants his/her share'

(1)d. Nnyin iyom udeme nnyin : 'We want our share(s)'

(1)e. Mbufo eyom udeme mbufo : 'You (pl) want your share(s)'

(1)f. Mmɔ eyom udeme mmɔ : 'They want their share(s)'

It should be noted that except in the singular, where there are minor differences in form, the personal and possessive pronouns are the same in form.

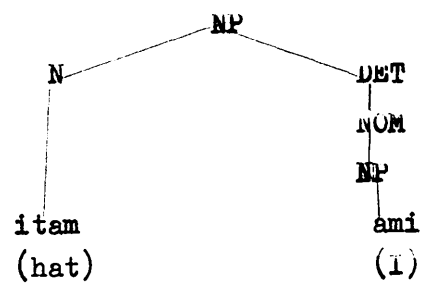
7.1 Analysis of Possessive NPs:

In this Chapter, we wish to consider how the possessive pronouns such as those in (1) may be derived in Efik. Within the standard transformational-generative theory, an English sentence such as (2a) is derived from a structure underlying (2b) which contains an embedded relative S:

(2)a. /

---

1. Strictly speaking, it is only third person possessive pronouns (esie and mmɔ) which may be transformationally derived in the manner described in 7.3. First and second person possessive pronouns (e.g. mmi and fi) are derived from first and second personal pronouns (e.g. ami and afo), which occur in the base, by morphophonemic rules. Thus ami in the following structure becomes mmi by a morphophonemic rule:



(2)a. This is my book

(2)b. This is the book which I have.

We shall refer to this analysis as the 'complex sentence' analysis. In Efik, however, there are strong reasons against the 'complex sentence' analysis of possessive NPs such as udeme esie, udeme mmɔ, etc., as we shall see presently. Since the grammatical function of possessive pronouns such as esie, mmi, etc. is similar to that of determiner, our derivation of possessive NPs will have to take this into account. For our purposes, we will call NPs such as udeme esie, ŋwed Ata (Ata's book) possessive NPs. In Efik, the possessor, for example, esie, Ata, follows the thing possessed, such as udeme, ŋwed in the phrases udeme esie and ŋwed Ata.

We will present facts and arguments against the 'complex sentence' analysis of possessive NPs. Consider the following examples:

(3)a. Inɔ eyip ŋwed Ata : 'A thief has stolen Ata's book'
1 2 1 ---2------

(3)b. ?Inɔ eyip ŋwed emi Ata enyenede:'A thief has stolen the book which Ata has'

(4)a. Bassey imaha ndiɔ esie : 'Bassey doesn't like his children'
1 2 --------1----- 2

(4)b. Bassey imaha ndiɔ emi enye enyenede
'Bassey doesn't like the children which he has'

(5)a. Ekpat nnyin oro edi emi : 'That bag of ours is this'
1 2 1 2

(5)b.*Ekpat oro emi nnyin inyenede edi emi:'The bag which we have is this'

First there is the problem of the grammatical status of (3b) and (5b), which are questionable and ungrammatical respectively. The fact that the complex sentence paraphrases of the possessive sentences of (3)-(5) kind vary in grammaticality is a strong case against deriving such possessive sentences from such complex sentences. Secondly, even in cases where the complex sentences are grammatical, there is a semantic problem, for (4a) and (4b), for example, are not paraphrases as such, as /

as those who favour this kind of analysis would wish. For while (4a) merely states the fact that Bassey does not love his children, (4b) carries the implication that he does love other children, even if he does not love his own children. Similarly, even if (3b) were grammatical, I am not at all sure whether it is semantically equivalent to (3a).

Next, consider the following examples, which pose semantic problems of different sorts:

(6)a. Ke$_1$ mbɔp uf$_2$ɔk mmi : 'I am$_1$ building my house$_2$'

(6)b. Ke mbɔp ufɔk emi nyenede:'I am building a house which I have'

(7)a. Ata oyom$_1$ ndidep$_2$ moto esie : 'Ata wants$_1$ to buy$_2$ his car'

(7)b. Ata oyom ndidep moto emi enye enyenede:'Ata wants to buy the car he has'

(8)a. Mmɔ ikwe$_1$ ubɔk$_2$utom mmɔ :'They haven't$_1$ found their occupations$_2$'

(8)b. Mmɔ ikwe ubɔk utom emi mmɔ enyenede
'They haven't found the occupations they have'

Although (6b), (7b) and (8b) are syntactically well-formed, they are semantically anomalous, for ufɔk (house), moto and ubɔk utom (occupation) are 'owned' even though they do not in fact exist. (8b) is particularly problematic because of the apparent contradiction there - they have not yet found occupations and yet they 'have' them. However, these are problems for those who favour the 'complex sentence' derivation of possessive NPs.

Syntactically, there are also convincing reasons against the complex sentence analysis. Consider personal names for example, as in (9):

(9)a. Arit Inyang (9)b. Ime Akpan

which in fact mean the following respectively: Inyang's Arit and Akpan's Ime. Support for this claim comes from such questions and answers as those in (10):

(10)a /

(10)a. ɔwed anie? (whose book?) : ans. Inyang (Inyang's)
(10)b. Eyen anie? (whose child?): ans. Akpan (Akpan's)

Note similar structure with personal names, thus (11):

(11)a. Arit anie? (whose Arit?) : ans. Inyang
(11)b. Ime anie ? (whose Ime?) : ans. Akpan

Observe that the order of these personal names is the same as for the ordinary possessive NPs; the possessor follows the possessed. If personal names of the kind in (9) could be regarded as possessive NPs of some sort, it would be simply ludicrous to derive them from such strings as (12):

(12)a *Arit emi Inyang enyenede : 'Arit which Inyang has'
(12)b *Ime emi Akpan enyenede : 'Ime which Akpan has'

Perhaps the strongest cases against the derivation of possessive NPs from complex sentences with an embedded relative S with nyene (have) can be seen from the following examples. First consider (13):

(13)a. Effiong enyene moto : 'Effiong has a car'
(13)b. Effiong enyene moto esie : 'Effiong has his own car'

where both nyene, which according to the 'complex sentence' analysis is supposed to be the source of possession, and a possessive pronoun occur together. If nyene is the source of possession, then (13b) should be paraphrasable as (14):

(14)*Effiong$_c$ enyene moto emi enye$_c$ enyenede:'Effiong$_c$ has a car which he$_c$ has'

(14) shows that although nyene may be a source of possession, it is certainly not the case that all possessive cases are derived from the nyene source.

Second, consider the following:

(15)a. Bassey okut ɔwan$_2$ eyen$_3$ fo$_4$:'Bassey has$_1$ seen$_1$ your$_4$ son's$_3$ wife$_2$'

If the 'Complex sentence' analysis is correct, then (15a) should be paraphrased as (15b) and derived from it:

(15)b. /

(15)b. *Bassey okut ɔwan emi eyen enyenede emi afo enyenede
1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8

'Bassey has seen the wife which son has which you have'

Not only is (15b) very ungrammatical but it is also semantically anoma-:lous, since it means both the son and father have the same wife.

Third, the ungrammaticality of (16a) if very significant:

(16)a. *Eka Ime ama oyom enye : 'Ime's mother wanted him'
1 c 2 3 c 1 2 3

The ungrammaticality of the above sentence is easily accounted for by the fact that as a simplex the structure underlying it does not qualify as a proper analysis for simple pronominalization, which as we saw in Chapter Six occurs only in complex and conjoined structures. If the structure underlying (16a) is a simple structure, then it cannot also be a complex structure. In other words, eka Ime (Ime's mother) is not in fact derived from a sentential source. Incidentally, the way to save (16a) is not to pronominalize the object of the sentence which is Ime in the deep structure, as the grammaticality of (16b) shows:

(16)b. Eka Ime ama oyom Ime : 'Ime's mother wanted Ime'

Finally, from a general linguistic point of view, Lyons (1968;391-395) has argued that an analysis which derives possessive phrases such as John's book from an underlying source in which the possessor noun like John's is the deep subject and the verb have is a deep structure verb is incorrect:

> "In most of the transformational accounts of English syntax so far published, it has been assumed that phrases like John's book are to be derived from an underlying structure in which the 'possessive' noun is the subject of the verb 'have': in other words, it is assumed that have is a deep structure verb (like read, etc.), which differs, however, from the majority of transitive verbs in that (in possessive sentences) it cannot undergo the passive transformation (*A book is had by John). There are many reasons for /

for believing that this account of the relationship between 'have sentences' and possessive phrases is incorrect" (p.391).

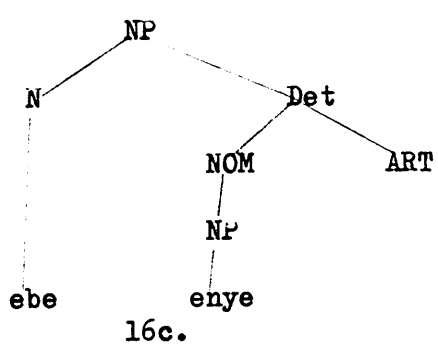
In our analysis have or nyene in Efik is not in fact a deep structure verb but is transformationally introduced (cf.2.11).

Interestingly Lyons has shown, in support of his position, that expressions such as John's above is a kind of adjective. But an adjec-:tive is a noun modifier. Although in Efik, expressions such as Ime in the phrase eka Ime (Ime's mother) is not adjectival in function and syntax, it certainly acts as a noun modifier, as we will show presently.

Enough has been given to show that there are very grave problems if one wishes to derive possessive sentences from complex sentences containing embedded relative clauses with nyene. The question then is, how best can they be derived? As already hinted above, we now propose that possessive NPs be derived in the base with the possessor NP as a constituent of the determiner system by the following expansion rule of the base

(i) NP ⟶ N Det
(ii) Det ⟶ NOM ART
(iii) NOM ⟶ NP

The possessor NP will be dominated by the NOM of the Det. Given a possessive NP like ebe esie (her husband), the structure would look like 16c



16c.

The /

The analysis of possessive NPs as part of the determiner is justified on both syntactic and semantic grounds. There are two kinds of noun modifiers in Efik, namely pre-modifiers like quantifiers and Wh-question words, and post modifiers like demonstratives, the definite article and numerals, which together constitute the determiner system. Since the possessor NP is a post-nominal modifier it seems appropriate that it should also be part of the determiner system. Observe, for example, that (17a) parallels (17b):

(17)

(a) (b)

ŋwed { oro / emi / oko } ŋwed { Bassey / esie / nnyin }

It is not only in Efik that possessor NPs behave like nominal modifiers. In English, as shown above, Lyons has shown that NPs like John's is adjectival in function in the phrase John's book. On the other hand, Postal (1966) has argued that elements such as my, our, him in myself, ourselves and himself respectively "are of course articles, definite articles, in fact genitive type definite articles".

Semantically, the possessor NP, like the demonstrative or article, appears to definitize the NP in which it occurs. Thus, in (18), for example, where only definite NPs can occur in the subject position, a possessive NP occurs as a subject:

(18)a. Eyen Okon esima ndita ŋ idem eti eti
1 2 3 4 ---5---
'Okon's son likes to be very arrogant'
1 2 5 --3,4---

(18)b. Eyen oro esima ndita ŋ idem esie eti eti
'That child likes to be very arrogant'

(18)c. Ata esima ndita ŋ idem esie eti eti: 'Ata likes to be very arrogant'

(18)d.*Eyen esima ndita ŋ idem esie eti eti: 'A child likes to be very arrogant'

7.2 Compound Nominals:

As we have seen above, a possessive NP is a complex NP, by which I mean an NP dominating another NP (or other NPs). There are some nominals which look like possessive NPs and we wish to examine whether they do in fact qualify as possessive cases. Consider the following examples:

(19)a. Eto ŋwed : 'A stick for writing' (i.e. a pen)

(19)b. Okpokoro udia : 'A table for eating'

(19)c. Ufɔk ibɔk : 'A house for medicine'

Syntactically, the NPs in (19) look like possessive NPs; there is a preceding and a following nominal in each case, just as in the possessive case. However, as even the English glosses show, there is no basis for a possessive interpretation of these NPs, from a semantic point of view. These NPs characteristically involve instrumentality or purpose; thus eto ŋwed is a stick used for writing, or a stick for the purpose of writing. A possessive gloss like a book's stick for eto ŋwed is clearly unacceptable. Similarly, an instrumental gloss for a possessive NP like eyen Bassey (Bassey's child) would be clearly unacceptable. Thus a child used for Bassey is clearly not a gloss for eyen Bassey.

There are also syntactic differences between the NPs in (19) and possessive NPs. While the NPs in (19) may allow the plural morpheme mme, some possessive NPs do not, as (20) and (21) respectively show:

(20)a. Mme eto ŋwed : 'Pens'

(20)b. Mme okpokoro udia : 'Dining tables'

(20)c. Mme ufɔk ibɔk : 'Hospitals'

(21)a. *Mme ŋwed Okon : 'Okon's books'

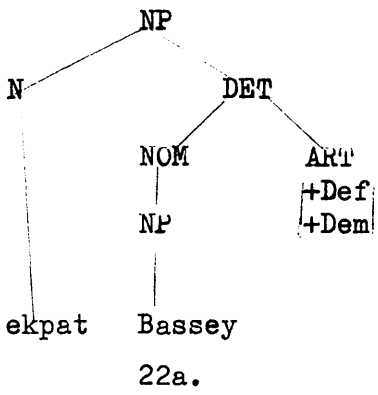
(21)b. *Mme ekpat eyen oro : 'The boy's bags'

(21)c. *Mme bia nnyin : 'Our yams'

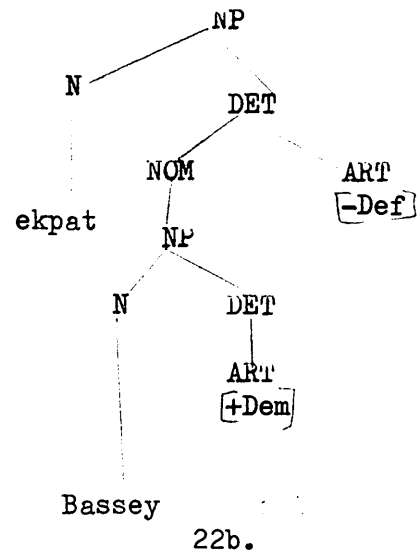
However, mme ete nditɔ oro (the fathers of those children) and mme ebe iban oro (those women's husbands) are grammatical, where both NPs are [+Human]/

+Human]. It should be noted that in (21), although the possessors are human, the things possessed are inanimate.

Secondly, while a possessive NP like ekpat Bassey emi is structurally ambiguous, as the phrase markers in (22) show, an NP such as eto ŋwed emi (this pen) is not:



22a.



22b.

22a underlies the interpretation This bag of Bassey, while 22b underlies the interpretation A bag of this Bassey.

Therefore, such NPs as eto ŋwed, ufɔk ibɔk, okpokoro udia are not possessive, though they look like such NPs in form. Rather one may regard them as such English compounds as night show, play group, baby sitter, etc. We suggest therefore they be analysed as compounds. We shall not attempt the analysis of compounds. Langacker (1972:77) suggests that for such compounds as armchair, rattlesnake, etc. this rule will work:

"The meaning N_1 with N_2 can be expressed by a compound of the form N_2N_1."

In Efik, however, the meaning N_1 for N_2 can be expressed by a compound of the form N_1N_2. For example, ŋwed ikwɔ (a book for songs) and ŋkpɔ mbre (a thing for play).

Finally /

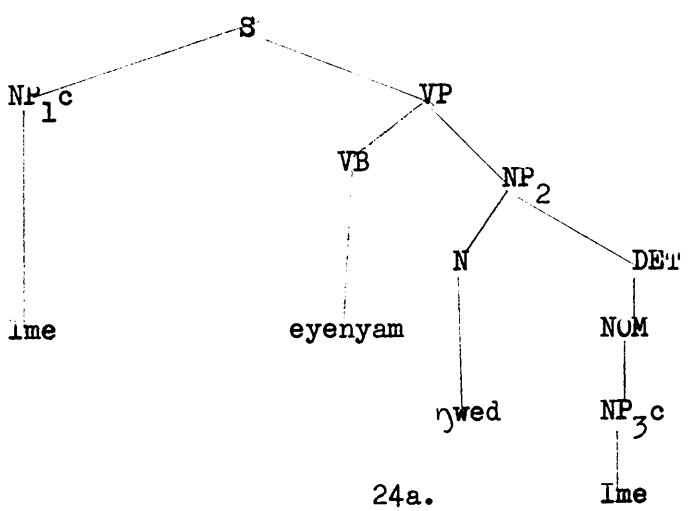
Finally, on the differences between possessive NPs and compounds, observe that the former are a 'conjunction' of NPs, if I may be permitted to use this expression in a rather special sense, whereas the latter are a 'conjunction' of Ns. This follows from our observation that whereas NPs like ekpat Bassey emi are structurally ambiguous, NPs like ufɔk ŋwed emi (this school) are not.

7.3 Formulation of Possessive Pronominalization:

We shall now turn to the central concern of this Chapter, namely the formulation of possessive pronominalization, which we shall sometimes refer to as the possessive rule. Let us begin with a simple sentence and see how this rule operates. Consider (23), for example:

(23) Ime eyenyam ŋwed esie : 'Ime will sell his book'

(23) is structured as 24a, omitting details:



24a.

The possessive rule will apply to a configuration like 24a provided:

(i) NP_1 and NP_3 are coreferential,

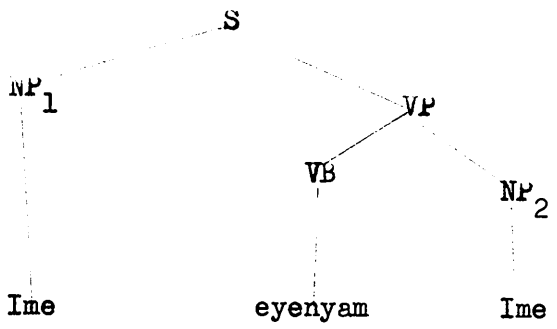
(ii) NP_3 is immediately preceded by an N,

(iii) The N that immediately precedes NP_3 must be the head noun of the Det that dominates NP_3.

Let us suppose for the moment that the above conditions are not only necessary but also sufficient for the application of the possessive rule./

rule. But do these conditions guarantee that in a phrase marker like 24a above, it is possessive pronominalization and not reflexivization that applies, since 24a is a simplex?

We will answer this question by comparing a proper analysis for reflexivization such as the phrase marker in 24b with 24a:



24b.

As we have already seen, reflexivization will apply to 24b if NP_1 and NP_2, which are subject and object respectively in a simplex, are co-referential.

Doubtless, 24a and 24b are similar. But they also differ, in fact in a non-trivial way. Observe that in 24b NP_2, which is identical with NP_1, is the object of the simplex (being immediately dominated by the VP), whereas in 24a NP_3, which is identical with NP_1, is not object as such. It is only part of the object NP, NP_2 (which is immediately dominated by the VP). Clearly 24a is not a proper analysis for reflexivization and the conditions for the application of the possessive rule seem to recognise this. So given the phrase marker such as 24a and the conditions for the application of possessive pronominalization as spelled out above, reflexivization on such a phrase marker is ruled out. Observe that the conditions for possessive pronominalization make no mention of the simplex condition and although coreference is one of the conditions, it is not required that this must hold between the subject and object in a phrase marker such as 24a. However, possessive pronominalization is /

is blocked if the NP for this rule is part of the subject, as (25) show:

(25)a.*Okuk$_1$ esie$_c$ akabiat$_2$ Bassey$_c$ ibuot:'His$_1$ money made$_2$ Bassey arrogant'

(25)b. *Eyen$_1$ esie$_c$ ama$_2$ebine$_3$ ete$_c$ oro : 'His$_1$ son joined$_2$ the man$_3$'

Apparently the constraint on backward pronominalization is violated here (cf.6.1.3).

However, it does seem as if this constraint does not affect (26) below:

(26)a.Okuk esie$_c$ ke Bassey$_c$ abiat :'It is his money that Bassey has wasted'

(26)b.Eyen esie$_c$ ke ete$_c$ oro ekebine :'It is his son that the man joined'

However (26) are derived from (27):

(27)a. Bassey$_c$ akabiat okuk esie$_c$: 'Bassey wasted <u>his</u> money'

(27)b. Ete$_c$ oro ekebine eyen esie$_c$: 'The man joined <u>his</u> son'

where the pronoun follows the antecedent, in obedience to the constraint. Since (26) and (27) are paraphrases and since Efik is a SVO (Subject Verb Object) language, <u>okuk esie</u> and <u>eyen esie</u> in (26) must have been moved to the front (from their object positions) by a transformation which we would like to refer to as Topicalization.

In Efik it seems, therefore, the constraint that does not permit a pro-:noun to precede the nominal expression to which it refers in a simplex is operative at the time the possessive rule is ready to apply. There is evidence too that this is also true of reflexivization, since (28a) is grammatical, and yet the reflexive pronoun clearly precedes the nominal expression <u>Bassey</u> to which it refers.

(28)a.Idem esie ke Bassey otuk :'It is himself that Bassey has cheated'

As in (26), the reflexive pronoun <u>idem esie</u> must have been moved to the front from its object position (at which time it obeyed the constraint) by the topicalization transformation, as seems clear from (28b), from which (28a) is derived:

(28)b. /

(28)b. Bassey otuk idem esie : 'Bassey has cheated himself'

If the constraint on examples such as (26), where the following NP in each case is [-Pro], is operative at the time possessive pronominali-:zation is ready to apply, it is not operative at all if the following NP is itself a Pronoun, as (29) are perfectly grammatical:

(29)a. Ete$_1$ mi oyom$_2$ mi : 'My father$_1$ wants$_2$ me'

(29)b. ŋwan$_1$ fo ama$_2$ fi : 'Your wife$_1$ loves$_2$ you'

(29)c. Eyen esie$_c$ okot enye$_c$: 'His son has called him'

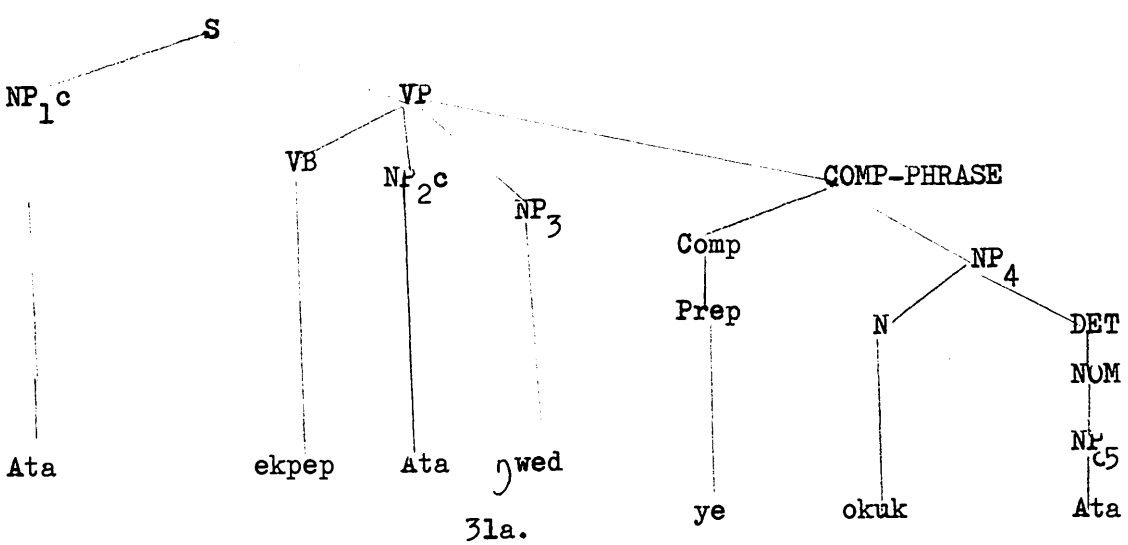
Let us now return to the application of possessive transformation, having seen the sort of configuration on which it operates and the con-:ditions for its operation. Given the phrase marker 24a and the fulfilment of the conditions for possessive pronominalization, the rule will apply marking the feature [+Pro] and [+Pos] (Possessive) on the NP which is dominated by Det. If this NP is already [+Pro], the rule will simply mark [+Pos]. In the case of 24a, the NP will later be realised as <u>esie</u>. In this way (23) will be generated.

Next, let us take an example which involves both possessive pronominali-:zation and reflexivization. Let us consider (30):

(30). Ata$_c$ ekpep$_1$ idem esie$_c$ ŋwed$_2$ ye okuk$_3$ esie$_c$

'Ata put$_1$ himself through school$_2$ with his money$_3$'

Underlying (30) is 31a:



31a.

31a is a proper analysis for both reflexivization and possessive pro-:nominalization. The question is, which of these two precedes the other? Since reflexivization is limited to the simplex and possessive pronominalization is not, as we will see presently, we will assume that reflexivization precedes possessive pronominalization. Since NP_1 and NP_2 are coreferential and the former is subject while the latter is object, and since they are both within a simplex, reflexivization will operate on NP_2 to generate (31b):

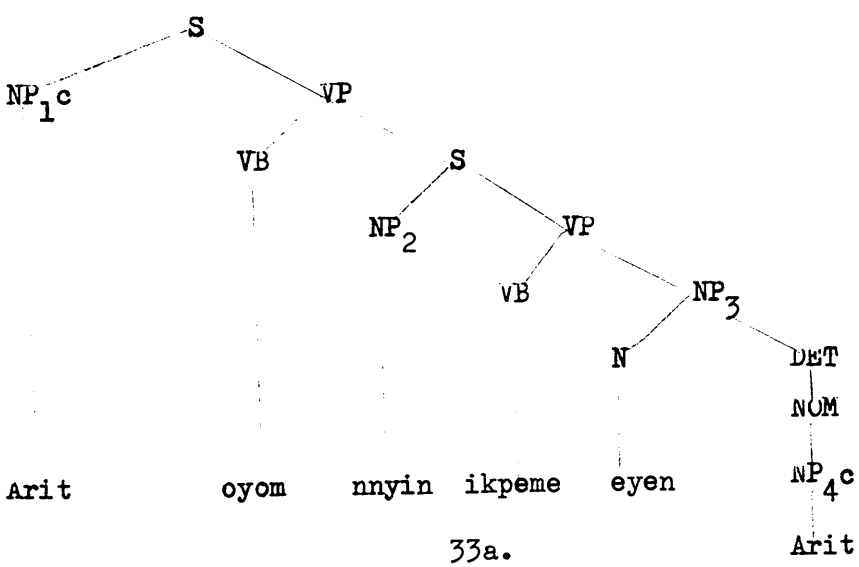
(31)b. Ata ekpep idem esie ɔwed ye okuk Ata
'Ata has put himself through school with Ata's money'

When the possessive rule applies - all the conditions for application having been fulfilled - NP_5 will be realised as <u>esie</u> and (30) thus generated.

So far we have been looking at possessive pronominalization in a simplex. Now consider (32), which is a complex sentence:

(32) Arit oyom nnyin ikpeme eyen esie:'Arit wants us to mind her baby'
1 2 3 4 5 1 2 3 4 5

Underlying (32) is 33a:



33a.

33a fulfils all the conditions for the application of the possessive rule:

(1) /

(1) there are two coreferent NPs (NP_1 and NP_4);

(2) one of the coreferent NPs, NP_4, is immediately preceded by an N and dominated by a Det;

(3) the N that immediately precedes NP_4 is a left sister of the Det that dominates the same NP.

33a is therefore a proper analysis for possessive pronominalization and when the rule applies (32) is generated. So possessive pronominali-:zation applies in both simplexes and complexes, provided the conditions are met.

Backward possessive pronominalization is not permissible even in envi-:ronments where backward simple pronominalization is allowed. Thus (34a) is ungrammatical:

(34)a. *Edieke eyen esie edide$_1$, nnyesian$_2$ Bassey

'If his son comes$_1$, I will tell$_2$ Bassey'

where <u>esie</u> refers to Bassey. Of course (34b) is grammatical, where possessive pronominalization must have taken place in a forward direction:

(34)b. Nnyesian Bassey edieke eyen esie edide

'I will tell Bassey, if his son comes'

In fact, it seems to be the case that backward possessive pronominali-:zation is not allowed whether in a simplex or complex. Recall that even in (26), at the time the rule applied, it applied in a forward direction. It was a later rule, Topicalization, which moved the objects, of which the possessive pronouns happen to be a part, forward. It is only in (29), where the following coreferent NP is itself a Pronoun that possessive pronominalization is apparently seen to have taken place in a backward direction.

7.4 <u>Possessive Pronominalization and Imɔ</u> :

As we pointed out in Chapter Six, <u>imɔ</u> contrasts not only with personal pronouns /

pronouns (second and third persons) but also with possessive pronouns. Consider (35), for example:

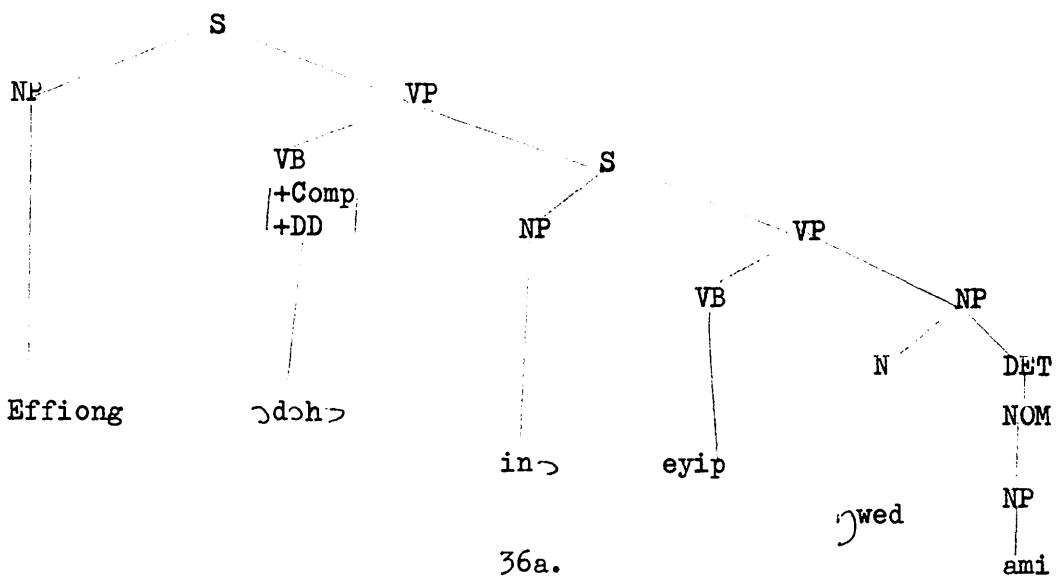
(35)a. Effiong ɔdɔhɔ ete inɔ eyip ɔwed imɔ
1 2 3 4

'Effiong said that a thief has stolen his book'
1 2 3 ---4------

(35)b. Mbufo ɛdɔhɔ ete inɔ eyip ɔwed mmimɔ

'You said that a thief has stolen your books'

Let us take (35a) for example. According to the Direct Discourse analysis the source of imɔ is the first person and (35a) is structured as 36a below:



36a.

According to the Coreference Principle in Direct Discourse, ami will be marked coreferential with Effiong, since ami is first person and Effiong is not only subject in a matrix clause but also [+Human]. The Indirect Discourse Formation transformation can now operate on 36a and after this operation ami is realised as imɔ. When finally the comple-:mentizer rule applies, (35a) will be generated. So like the non-:possessive imɔ, which is not derived by ordinary simple pronominalization possessive imɔ is not derived by the ordinary possessive rule.

7.5 Possessive Pronominalization and Intensification:

Sometimes it becomes necessary to assert or 'intensify' possession or ownership /

ownership. Consider, for example, the following sentences:

(36)a. Bassey oyom ebua esie mmɔŋ:'Bassey wants his own dog'(not anyone else's)

(36)b.Nnyom redio okim mmɔŋ :'I want my own radio'(not anyone else's)

(36)c.Emekpe okuk okuo mmɔŋ ?:'Have you paid your own money?'

Observe that with intensification, the first and second person possessives mmi and fo respectively change in form. Thus (37) are ungrammatical:

(37)a. *Nnyom redio mmi mmɔŋ : 'I want my own radio'

(37)b. *Emekpe okuk fo mmɔŋ ? : 'Have you paid your own money?'

There are other restrictions on the use of the intensifier mmɔŋ. First it does not occur with plural possessives, as (38) show:

(38)a.*Mmɔ eyom redio mmɔ mmɔŋ :'They want their own radios'

(38)b.*Nnyin iyom ebua nnyin mmɔŋ : 'We want our own dogs'

(38)c.*Mbufo eyom ŋwed mbufo mmɔŋ : 'You want your own books'

Second, mmɔŋ does not occur with imɔ. Thus (39) is ungrammatical:

(39)*Ata ɔdɔhɔ ete ebua imɔ mmɔŋ osop:'Ata says his own dog is lost'

When sentences such as (36) come to be generated, as we will do presently, the ungrammaticality of (38) can be accounted for presumably by a condition that allows only singular possessive NPs to be intensified. However (39) is a problem, for if (40) is a paraphrase of this example:

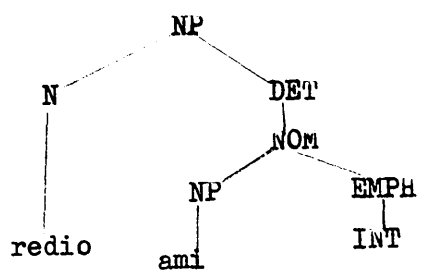
(40) Ata ɔdɔhɔ, 'Ebua okim mmɔŋ osop':'Ata says, 'My own dog is lost'

it is difficult to understand the ungrammaticality of (39).

Now, how do we generate sentences like (36)? Since they involve emphasis, we suggest that NOM should be expanded to include an obligatory NP and an optional EMPH thus:

NOM → NP (EMPH)

The structure for redio okim mmɔŋ, for example, would look like (41)

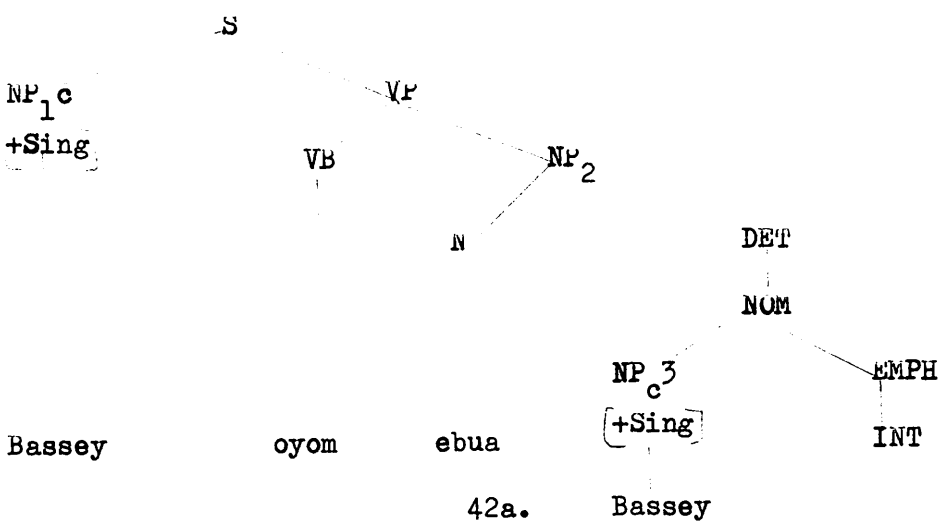


41.

In order to prevent the intensification of plural possessor NPs such as mmɔ, nnyin and mbufo, we will require not a condition for intensification as such, but a well-formedness condition for the phrase marker which is to be input to the intensification of a possessor NP. Thus given 41, the well-formedness condition, or constraint will have to say that it is a proper analysis for the intensification of the possessor NP just in case the possessor NP itself is [+Singular]. In this way the strings in (38) become automatically ungrammatical, because there are no well-formed phrase markers underlying them, the possessor NPs being plural.

The string in (39) cannot, however, be handled in this way. For (40) underlying it is well-formed and grammatical, as we have already pointed out. It seems to us in this instance, we need a surface structure con-:straint that will characterise as ungrammatical any string in which imɔ and the intensifier occur together.

Let us now try to derive a sentence involving possessive pronominali-:zation and the intensification of the possessor NP. Let us take (36a) for example, which is structured like 42a below:



42a.

Let us begin with intensification. As the possessor NP - NP_3 - is singular, 42a is a proper analysis for the intensification of this NP. When this rule applies mmɔn will be introduced, since the EMPH that dominates /

dominates INT is itself dominated by NOM, not by an NP (as in the case of the intensifier ke idem esie, for example). The application of the intensification rule generates (42b) below:

(42)b.*Bassey$_c$ oyom ebua Bassey$_c$ mmɔŋ : 'Bassey wants Bassey's own dog'

Since 42a is also a proper analysis for possessive pronominalization, the rule will apply and (36a), repeated below, will be generated:

(36)a. Bassey oyom ebua esie mmɔŋ : 'Bassey wants his own dog'

We should perhaps add that in a phrase marker such as 42a, if NP_3 were [+I] or [+II], then the possessive form would be realised not as the regular forms mmi and fo respectively, but as okim and okuo respectively, because of the presence of the intensifier mmɔŋ. Recall that we pointed out above that mmɔŋ does not co-occur with either mmi or fo, hence the ungrammaticality of (37). The fact that the form of the possessive pronoun of the first and second persons (singular) is determined by the presence of the intensifier mmɔŋ indicates that the intensification rule that introduces mmɔŋ should precede possessive pronominalization.

7.6 N Replacement in a Possessive NP:

It would be inappropriate to call the rule we wish to talk about a kind of pronominalization. Pronominalization in all its ramifications operates on NPs, not Ns. On the other hand, the phenomenon we are going to talk about replaces not NPs but Ns in a complex NP, as our analysis will show later. Such a replacement as far as is known takes place in sentences with conjoined NPs and equative sentences. Consider the following for example:

(43)a. ɔwan Effiong ye eke Bassey enam utom
$_{1}$ $_{2}$ $_{3}$ $_{4}$ $_{5}$

'Effiong's wife and that of Bassey are working'
$_{1}$ $_{2}$ $_{3}$ $_{4,5}$

(43)b. Ebua emi edi eke Ata : 'This dog is that of Ata'
$_{1}$ $_{2}$ $_{3}$ $_{2}$ $_{1}$ $_{3}$

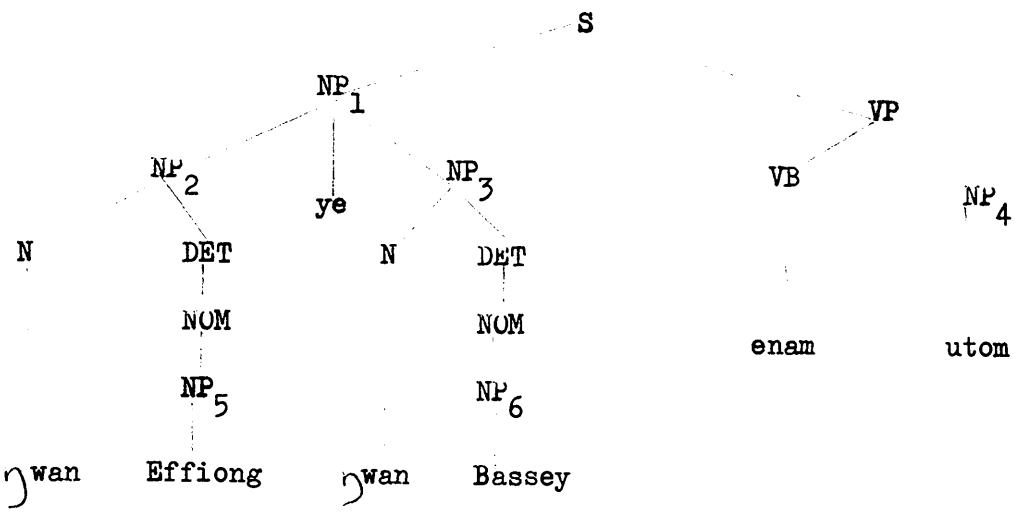
(43a) /

(43a) and (43b) are paraphrases of (44a) and (44b), from which they are derived:

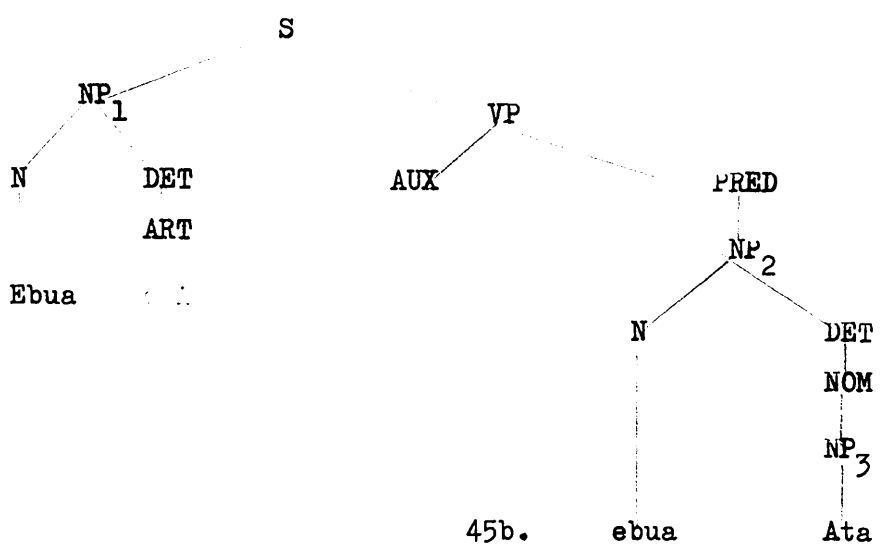
(44)a. ŋwan Effiong ye ŋwan Bassey enam utom
'Effiong's wife and Bassey's wife are working'

(44)b. Ebua emi edi abua Ata : 'This dog is Ata's dog'

To understand how (43) is derived from (44) let us see how (44) themselves are structured in the base. Omitting details that are not relevant (44) are structured as 45:



45a.



45b.

First let us look at 45a and see how N Deletion works in that phrase marker, where a co-ordinate NP (NP_1) dominates two possessive NPs. Although the two possessive NPs dominate two identical Ns (in form though), the two NPs are not coreferential. The condition for the application /

application of N Deletion in a co-ordinate NP like NP_1 then seems to be that the two Ns must each be a sister adjunct of a Det that dominates another NP (i.e. the two NPs must each be the things possessed). If this condition is fulfilled, as in 45a, then the N on the right is replaced by the morpheme eke. In this way (43a) is generated.

No backward replacement of such an N is allowed, as (46) is ungrammatical, where there is a backward replacement of N:

(46) *Eke Effiong ye ɾwan Bassey enam utom
'That of Effiong and Bassey's wife are working'

Let us now turn to the phrase marker in 45b. Here the two NPs containing the identical Ns are themselves coreferential; ebua emi and ebua Ata are one and the same thing. However, although ebua Ata is possessive, ebua emi is not. So in a structure like 45b, the N replacement rule requires that the NPs that dominate each identical N be themselves coreferential. In addition, the coreferent NP on the right must be possessive. When the rule applies, again the N on the right is replaced by eke to generate (43b). Observe that if the NP on the right is not possessive ungrammaticality results, were the rule to apply, as (47a) shows:

(47)a. *ŋwed Okon edi eke emi : 'Okon's book is that of this'

Underlying (47a) of course is (47b):

(47)b ŋwed Okon edi ŋwed emi : 'Okon's book is this book'

It seems clear from all these that whether in a structure like 45a or 45b, the NP whose N is replaced by eke is the possessive NP.

Now that we have seen that the N of a possessive NP may be replaced by the morpheme eke, is it the case that okim and okuo which we saw above are in fact derived from eke mmi (that of me) and eke fo (that of you) respectively? It is tempting to think so. But consider the facts. First /

First, as we have seen above eke replaces the N only in certain struc-:tures, namely, those like 45a with co-ordinate NPs with identical Ns, or those like 45b which underlie 'equative' sentences. Again the existence of identical Ns is necessary. But the occurrences of okim and okuo are not limited to such structures only. Consider the following, for example:

(48)a. Enye oyom okuk okim : 'He wants my own money'
1 2 3 4 1 2 4

(48)b. Enye oyom okuk okuo : 'He wants your own money'
1 1

Note that eke mmi and eke fo cannot replace okim and okuo respectively in (48) as (49) are ungrammatical:

(49)a.*Enye oyom okuk eke mmi :'He wants money that of me'

(49)b.*Enye oyom okuk eke fo : 'He wants money that of you'

In fact the function of eke is precisely to replace an N. So it is not surprising that it does not co-occur with the very N it is supposed to replace. Clearly okim and okuo must be regarded as variants of mmi and fo, as has been explained above.

Secondly, okim and okuo are not synonymous with eke mmi and eke fo. Okim and okuo whose occurrences are determined by the presence of INT in the base as shown above mean my own and your own respectively, whereas eke mmi and eke fo mean that of me and that of you. Thus we have (50a) and (50b), for example:

(50)a. Nnyom moto okim : 'I want my own car'

(50)b. Nnyom moto fo ye eke mmi : 'I want your car and that of me'

Note that (48) above are synonymous with (51) below:

(51)a. Enye oyom okuk okim mmɔn : 'He wants my own money'
1 2 3 4 5 1 2 4 5 3

(51)b. Enye oyom okuk okuo mmɔn : 'He wants your own money'
1 1

To summarise, we have presented a number of facts and arguments to show why the 'complex sentence' derivation of possessive NPs must be rejected.

In /

In addition, we have shown that

(a) possessive pronominalization applies both in a simplex and a complex, given the relevant conditions;

(b) like non-possessive imɔ, the source of possessive imɔ is the first person;

(c) the intensification of a possessor NP is limited to singular possessor NPs;

(d) subject to certain conditions, the N of a possessive NP may be replaced by the morpheme eke.

CHAPTER EIGHT

RELATIVIZATION

8.0 Introduction:

Like simple pronominalization, relativization in Efik relates one NP to another outside its own clause. Relativization, like simple pronominali-:zation, therefore, takes place only in a complex structure. However, while a personal, or simple, pronoun in a surface sentence may or may not be anaphoric, a relative pronoun is always anaphoric. Thus like a reflexive pronoun, the NP to which a relative pronoun refers is never in doubt in Efik, as will become apparent as we go on.

As we have done in other pronominalization processes, we will attempt to explore and explain the facts of relativization. It will be shown that some of those facts can be better explained by the Noun Phrase Accessi-:bility hypothesis proposed by Keenan and Comrie (1972).

8.1 Relative Pronouns:

As we have already seen in Chapter Four, the following are, or can be used as, relative pronouns : emi, eke and se as in (1):

(1)a. Owo emi Arit amade iyehe: 'The man Arit loves is not handsome'
1 2 3 4 5 2 1 3 4 5

(1)b. Ndito eke mmaha ntre ekpon: 'Children who don't like it so should leave'
1 2 3 4 5 1 2 3 4 5

(1)c. Okuk se Ata ɔbɔde ikemke enye
1 2 3 4

'The money that Ata receives isn't enough for him'
1 2 3 4

We have said above "can be used as relative pronouns", because emi may be used, or is primarily used as, a demonstrative, while eke may be used as a Wh-question marker.

The commonest or most often used of these pronouns is emi, thus eke and se in (1b) and (1c) respectively may be replaced by emi as (2) show:

(2)a /

(2)a.Nditɔ emi mimaha ntre ekpɔŋ :'Children who don't like it so should leave'

(2)b. Okuk emi Ata ɔbɔde ikemke enye

'The money which Ata receives is not sufficient for him'

In fact, at least in my own dialect, (2) are preferred to (1b) and (1c) though the latter are undoubtedly grammatical.

The selection of eke and se depends to some extent on the nature of the antecedent NP. In general, an antecedent that is indefinite as well as non-specific may select eke as a relative pronoun in the relative clause, thus we have (3):

(3)a. Owo eke abiatde mbet emi eyeduk ntime
1 2 3 4 5 6 7

'Anybody who breaks this regulation will get into trouble'
1 2 3 5 4 6 7

(3)b. Sian Bassey ete enye edep ŋwed eke enye amade
1 2 3 4 5

'Tell Bassey to buy any book that he likes'
1 3 4 2 5

As seems clear from these examples, neither owo nor ŋwed refers to a specific person or book. For example, in (3a), there is no specific person who will get into trouble; it is anybody who breaks the regula-:tion. Similarly, in (3b), Bassey is supposed to buy any book at all, provided he likes it. As can be seen animacy or inanimacy is irrelevant here. Eke is of course replaceable by emi in (3), as (4) are synonymous with (3):

(4)a. Owo emi abiatde mbet emi eyeduk ntime

'Anybody who breaks this regulation will get into trouble'

(4)b. Sian Bassey ete enye edep ŋwed emi enye amade

'Tell Bassey to buy any book that he likes'

The selection of se is, however, less straightforward. In general, the antecedent is inanimate but occasionally animate NPs do also occur as antecedents of se, as (5c) shows:

(5)a. Mmaha ŋkpɔ se Ime anamde:'I don't like the thing that Ime has done'

(5)b. Sian Bassey ete enye edep ŋwed se enye amade

'Tell Bassey to buy the/any book that he likes'

(5)c. /

(5)c. Mbufo eyekut ebe se enye edidɔde
1 2 3 4
'You will see the husband that she will marry'
1 ----2--- 3 ----4-----

It could be said that in general the antecedent of se is the kind of NP which accepts the morpheme utɔ (kind) as (5) are paraphrasable as (6):

(6)a. Mmaha utɔ ŋkpɔ se Ime anamde: 'I don't like the kind of thing Ime has done'

(6)b. Sian Bassey ete enye edep utɔ ŋwed se enye amade
'Tell Bassey to buy the kind of book that he likes'

(6)c. Mbufo eyekut utɔ ebe se enye edidɔde
'You will see the kind of husband she will marry'

Even so, se in both (5) and (6) are replaceable by emi, as (7) and (8) show:

(7)a. Mmaha ŋkpɔ emi Ime anamde: 'I don't like the thing that Ime has done'

(7)b. Sian Bassey ete enye edep ŋwed emi enye amade
'Tell Bassey to buy the book that he likes'

(7)c. Mbufo eyekut ebe emi enye edidɔde
'You will see the husband that she will marry'

(8)a. Mmaha utɔ ŋkpɔ emi Ime anamde: 'I don't like the kind of thing Ime has done'

(8)b. Sian Bassey ete enye edep utɔ ŋwed emi enye amade
'Tell Bassey to buy the kind of book that he likes'

(8)c. Mbufo eyekut utɔ ebe emi enye edidɔde
'You will see the kind of husband that she will marry'

So in actual fact, there is no environment in which either se or eke occurs and from which emi is excluded.

In English a relative pronoun which is the direct object of its relative clause is deletable. In Efik all relative pronouns are deletable, irrespective of function. Thus (9a) and (9b) in which the relative pronoun is subject and object respectively, are synonymous with (10a) and (10b) respectively:

(9)a. Nnyin imekut akparawa emi ekefehede
1 1
'We have seen the young man who escaped'

(9)b. /

(9)b.Enye ama osobo iban emi mbufo ekeyomde:'He met the women you wanted'
1 2 3 1 2 3

(10)a. Nnyin imekut akparawa ekefehede

'We have seen the young man who escaped'

(10)b.Enye ama osobo iban mbufo ekeyomde:'He met the women you wanted'

In certain contexts instead of the relative pronoun, it is the antecedent which is deleted. Thus we have (11a) and (11b):

(11)a.Nnyom emi afo anamde ke idem fo:'I want the one you made yourself'

(11)b. Eke mikopke item eyeduk ntime
1 2 3 4 5

'Who doesn't listen to advice will get into trouble'
1 2 3 4

where the antecedents ɲkpɔ and owo respectively have been deleted as the paraphrases (12a) and (12b) respectively show:

(12)a. Nnyom ɲkpɔ emi afo anamde ke idem fo

'I want the thing/one you made yourself'

(12)b. Owo eke mikopke item eyeduk ntime

'A person who doesn't listen to advice will get into trouble'

As it often happens in Efik (cf.the discussion in 2.8.1), antecedents other than the 'place-holders' ɲkpɔ and owo may be deleted in contexts where both the speaker and the hearer know precisely what they are talking about.

Since there are no clear grammatical environments for se and eke and since emi occurs in all environments in which they (i.e. se and eke) occur, we will overlook se and eke for our purposes.

8.2.0 Antecedents:

In the following sections, we will consider the kinds of NPs which may or may not act as antecedents of relative pronouns. Except for a few exceptions which will be considered later a great many NPs can act as the antecedent of a relative pronoun.

8.2.1 /

8.2.1 Grammatical Functions:

The antecedent of a relative pronoun may be the subject or object in its own S, as in (13a) and (13b) respectively:

(13)a. Effiong emi anamde utom mi edi ifu
1 2 3 4 5
'The Effiong who works here is lazy'
-1,2- 3 4 5

(13)b. Enye imaha utom emi enye anamde
1 2
'He does not like the work he is doing'
-------1--- 2

The antecedent may also be in the comitative, instrumental or locative case, as in the following examples respectively:

(13)c. Ime anam utom ye akparawa emi enye amade
1 2 3 4 5 6 7
'Ime is working with a young man that he likes'
--1,2----- 3 -----4--- 5 6 7

(13)d. Wet leta ye pen emi ekedepde
1 2 3
'write a letter with the pen that you bought'

(13)e. Nnyin idu kpa ke Uyo emi mbufo edude
1 2 3 4 5 6 7
'We are at the very Uyo where you are'
1 2 4 3 5 6 7

8.2.2 Features:

From the standpoint of syntactic features even [-Common] (i.e. proper nouns) and [+Pro] NPs can act as antecedents, as (13a) above and (13f) below respectively indicate:

(13)f. Mmɔ emi ekekade Calabar ekefehe:'Those who went to Calabar escaped'

It should be noted that in (13a), the existence of other Effiongs is presupposed (cf.Vendler 1967:39ff).

However the antecedent of a relative pronoun may not be a reflexive pronoun /

pronoun or a demonstrative NP[1], as the ungrammaticality of the following examples show:

(14)a.*Ata ànam idèm esie emi ekpride
1 2
'Ata is harming himself which is small'
--1------- --2-----

(14)b. *Nnyin iyom mmɔ enyaŋa idem emi mmɔ eyomde
'We want them to help themselves which they want'

(15)a. *Mmaha akparawa emi emi ayarade itam
1 2 3 4 5 6
'I don't like this young man who wears a hat'
------1----- 3 -----2--- 4 5 6

(15)b. *Bassey oyom eyen oko emi adade ekpere eto
1 2 3 4 5 6 7
'Bassey wants yonder boy who is standing near a tree'
1 3 2 4 5 6 7

8.2.3 Restrictive and Non-Restrictive Relative Clauses:

There are no non-restrictive clauses in Efik. Thus (13a), as we have already pointed out, implies the existence of other Effiongs and Uyo in (13a) parallels England in the English sentence "This cannot be the England that I know and love" (Chomsky 1965:217).

Moreover, certain NPs change meaning and become non-unique when they occur as antecedents of relative pronouns. Consider (16) and (17):

(16)a. Mma aka udua : 'Mother has gone to the market'
1 2 3 1 ---2---- 3

(16)b. Ete odu ke Uyo : 'Father is at Uyo'
1 2 3 1 2 3

(17)a.Mma emi nnyomde aka udua:'The lady that I want has gone to the market'
1 2 3 1 2 -3----

(17)b. Bassey ikwe ete emi odude ke Uyo
1 2 3
'Bassey hasn't seen the man who is at Uyo'
----1------ 2 3

Interpretations /

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1. However, the following sentences are grammatical:
(i) Ami emi emi ndude mi ŋkpedɔhɔ ete oro:'This I who am here wouldn't marry
1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 2 1 3 4 5 --------6-----
that man'
8 7

(ii) Afo oro emi etiede do ukpenyimeke:You there who are there wouldn't agree'
1 2 3 4 5 6 1 2 3 4 5 --------6-----

The grammaticality of the above sentences depends on the existence of a locative NP like mi or do and a 'sedentary' verb like ndude (am) and etide (sit), etc., in the embedded clauses.

Interpretations of (17) in which mma and ete still retain their original lexical meanings of mother and father respectively as in (16) are not possible. This is because there is no non-restrictive relative clause in Efik. Thus (18), for example, implies that there are other headmasters, besides the one wanting to see everybody:

(18) Etubom emi oyomde kpukpru owo odu ke Uyo
1 2 3 4 5 6 7

'The headmaster who wants everybody is at Uyo'
1 2 3 4 5 6 7

An interpretation in which there is one and only one headmaster is not possible.

However, (19a) appears to indicate that with certain NPs and the verb to be di (be), non-restrictive relative clause formation is possible:

(19)a. Gen. Gowon emi edide andikara Nigeria ama edi mi
1 2 3

'Gen. Gowon who is the Nigerian Head of State came here'
1 2 3

But in fact (19a) is not quite Efik from a stylistic point of view. It is one of the influences of English on Efik and is more likely to be used, if at all, by educated Efiks who speak English than by illiterate Efiks, who do not speak English. Even so, it is not clear to me whether (19a) does not imply the existence of other Gen. Gowons. Moreover, the relative clause in (19a) behaves syntactically like any other restric-:tive relative clause. For example, it is paraphrasable as (19b):

(19)b. Gen. Gowon edide andikara Nigeria ama edi mi

'Gen. Gowon, who is the Nigerian Head of State came here'

In English, where a clear distinction has been drawn between restrictive and non-restrictive clauses, such a distinction can be expressed in syntactic terms. For instance while the relative pronoun of a res-:trictive clause may be deleted in some cases, the relative pronoun of a non-restrictive clause is not deletable. In Efik, the relative pronoun in (19a) is deletable, as (19b) shows. Second, in English "non-restrictive /

"non-restrictive relative clauses are not felt to be subordinate to the nouns they occur with, but rather co-ordinate" (Langendoen 1969:93). In Efik, however, there is no way of paraphrasing the relative clause in such sentences as (19a) to show that they are in fact not subordinate clauses but co-ordinate clauses, as can be done in English. Thus (19c) is ungrammatical:

(19)c. *Gen. Gowon ama edi mi, enye onyuŋ edi andikara Nigeria'
'Gen. Gowon came here, and he is the Nigerian Head of State'

In fact, the subordination of the verb to be di to derive edide, as we will show later, shows that the relative clause is in fact a subordinate clause and not a co-ordinate one, as in English. So we think that examples like (19a) do not provide tangible, if it does provide any evidence at all, to show that Efik allows non-restrictive relative clause formation.[2]

Let us return to examples (17) and (18), where a problem appears to arise from relativization. As we noted above, the relativization of mma (mother) and ete (father) changes the meanings of these lexical items, while the relativization of etubom (the headmaster) implies that there are more than one such position in the school. It seems to us that this is a performance problem, since it is only in rather restricted contexts that mma/ete and etubom occur. Ete or mma without any possessive pronouns in general is used by children of the same father or /

---

2. Smith (1964:248-249) has also shown that the determiners of the antecedents, or what she calls 'containing noun phrases' determine what kind of relative clause may follow. If the antecedent has what she calls an 'Unspecified' determiner, e.g. any, all, etc., then non-restrictive relative clause formation is not allowed. On the other hand, if the NP is 'Unique', i.e. definite without a determiner, only non-restrictive relative clause formation is allowed. Such NPs include proper names. This kind of classification is of course irrelevant to Efik, since as we have seen above, proper names allow restrictive relative clauses just like any ordinary NPs.

or mother, in which case the need for a modifier relative clause does not arise, from the point of view of the participants in the speech act. This is also true of etubom. From the point of view of the teachers and pupils of the school, there is one and only one headmaster, who everybody knows. From their point of view, then, there is no need for a limiting relative clause and once one introduces such a clause, then one also introduces the possibility of the existence of other headmasters in the same school. This is the case with similar NPs like ɔbɔŋ (the chief), edidem (the king), etc.

8.3 Restrictions on Relative Pronouns:

In the above section, we considered the restrictions on the NPs that act as antecedents to relative pronouns. In this section, we wish to consider restrictions on relative pronouns as can be determined from surface sentences. Although in Efik relative pronouns occur as subject, object (direct or indirect), prepositional or quasi-verbal NP, and possessor NP, there are some restrictions in some of these positions. Relative pronouns can occur as subject, direct object, indirect object, quasi-verbal NP in their own clauses easily, as (20) show:

(20)a. Eyen emi anamde utom mi edi eti owo
1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8
'The boy who works here is a good person'
1 2 3,4 5 6 7 8

(20)b. Akpɑrawa emi nnyɔmde iduhe mi: 'The young man that I want is not here'
1 2 3 4 5 1 1 2 3 4 5

(20)c. (ɔ)kaiferi emi Aṭa ekewetde leta ibɔrɔke enye
1 2 3 4 5 6 7
'The girl to whom Aṭa has written a letter hasn't answered him'
1 2 3 4 5 6 7

(20)d. Mmekut owo emi Bassey okpɔnde akan
1 2 3
'I have seen a man Bassey is bigger than'
1 2 3

In (20a) emi is the subject of the clause emi anamde utom mi (who works here). In (20b) emi is the direct object of the clause emi nnyomde (that /

(that I want). In (20c) emi is the indirect object of the clause emi Ata ekewetde leta (to whom Ata has written a letter). In (20d) emi is the quasi-verbal (QVB) NP of the clause emi Bassey okponde akan (that Bassey is bigger than). In all cases, the relative pronoun is at the beginning of its relative clause, irrespective of function. In the case of direct object, indirect object and QVB NP, it will be shown later that these NPs have actually been moved to the front position as part of the relativization process.

However, a relative pronoun does not appear to occur as a comitative NP with a preceding preposition. Thus although we have (21a) there is no (21b):

(21a). Nkesaŋa ye Okon ŋka Uyo : 'I went with Okon to Uyo'
1 2 3 1 2 3

(21)b. *Okon ye emi ŋkesaŋade ŋka Uyo okut utom do
1 2
'Okon with whom I went to Uyo has found a job there'
1 2

Interestingly enough, although (21b) is ungrammatical (21c) is not:

(21)c. Okon emi ŋkesaŋade kiet ŋka Uyo okut utom
1
'Okon with whom I went to Uyo has found a job'
1

We will explain the significance of this alternative, and all other such alternatives that we will see presently, later.

Next, a locative relative pronoun with a preceding preposition is not allowed. Thus although we have (22a) there is no (22b). But as in the case of (21), (22c) is grammatical:

(22)a. ŋwed odu ke okpokoro : 'The book is on the table'
1 2 3 4 1 2 3 4

(22)b. *Ime oyom okpokoro ke emi ŋwed odude
'Ime wants the table on which there is a book'

(22)c. Ime oyom okpokoro emi ŋwed odude:'Ime wants a table on which there is a book'

Furthermore, an instrumental relative pronoun with a preceding preposition is not allowed. Thus we have (23a) and (23c) but not (23b):

(23)a. /

(23)a. Okon adia udia ye ikpaŋ : 'Okon is eating food with a spoon'
1 2 3 4

(23)b. *Ikpaŋ ye emi Okon adiade udia ifɔnke
'The spoon with which Okon is eating food is not good'
1

(23)c. Ikpaŋ emi Okon adiade udia ifɔnke
'The spoon with which Okon is eating food is not good'
1

Equally grammatical, and in fact preferable to (23c), is (23d):

(23)d. Ikpaŋ emi Okon adade adia udia ifɔnke
'The spoon Okon is using to eat food is not good'

So in Efik, a relative pronoun must not be preceded by a preposition, or any other nominal particle (e.g. a QVB) for that matter. Observe that in (20d), the QVB is left behind while the relative pronoun is moved to the front of the clause. In this aspect, Efik is very much like English.

Finally, let us consider a relative pronoun which is possessive, or shall we say which replaces a possessor NP, as we will see later on. At first sight it looks as if a possessor NP cannot be relativized. Consider the following example:

(24) Akparawa emi ŋwan esie amande eyen okot fi
1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8

'The young man who his wife has had a baby has invited you'
1 2 4 3 5 6 7 8

where the possessor pronoun esie occurs along with a relative pronoun. Since a relative pronoun in Efik appears to replace the NP which is relativized, then esie could not have been relativized, otherwise it would have been replaced. Clearly, however, emi in the clause emi ŋwan esie amande eyen (who his wife has had a baby) is neither subject nor object of this clause. Nor can it be comitative since the verb man (give birth to) does not allow this kind of NP (cf.*ŋwan oro aman eyen ye Arit:'The woman has had a baby with Arit'). Emi as a locative in this example must also be ruled out since in our grammar locatives are domi-:nated by the Adjunct. So it must then be possessive, since possession is /

is involved after all. What has happened in this case, as we will demonstrate in detail later, is that unlike other cases, in relativizing a possessor NP, the NP is retained, nonetheless in the possessive form. As in other cases, the relative pronoun itself is moved to the front of the relative clause closest to the antecedent NP.

8.4 Keenan and Comrie's Accessibility Hierarchy (AH)

In order to explain the facts in 8.3 above, it is necessary to turn to Keenan and Comrie's (1972) Noun Phrase Accessibility to relativization, which is repeated below:

"(i) Subj > DO > IO > OPrep > Poss-NP > O-Comp-Particle

(ii) if X > Y and Y dominates Z then X > Z

Thus the first part of (i) tells us that subject NPs are easier to relativize than any of the other major constituents of a sentence. In fact in all the languages studied, it was possible to relativize on subjects. We shall call a particular RCF strategy in a given language major if it is used to relativize subject NP. We hypothesize that all languages have at least one major strategy and we note that many lan-:guages have more than one major strategy as well as strategies that are not major".

According to the above hypothesis, at least in the forty languages which were studied, if it is possible to relativize into say the O-Comp-Particle position, then it is possible to relativize into all positions left of O-Comp-Particle. In addition, it is part of the Accessibility hypo-:thesis that some languages use various devices or strategies to make accessible to relativization an otherwise inaccessible NP. Although this hypothesis offers an interesting explanation of the facts in section 8.3, it will be necessary to re-order the Accessibility Hierarchy for Efik /

Efik, as seems clear from the examples in section 8.3.

In Efik, as we have shown in the above section, relativization takes place in all the positions along the AH. According to the hypothesis, the major strategy, by which the subject in the embedded clause is relativized, deletes the NP_{rel} position, puts the subordinate relative clause post nominally and introduces the marker or pronoun emi. In addition, what may be referred to as 'subordination marker' is introduced as a suffix of the VB of the subordinate clause. If the tense of this verb is either past or future, then the 'non-neutral' forms of these tenses must be used (cf.2.8.2). This strategy works for the subject, direct object, indirect object, QVB NP (i.e. Keenan & Comrie's O-Comp-Particle), although the direct object, indirect object, and the QVB NP requires an additional movement to the front of the relative clause to immediately follow the antecedent NP. Efik prefers that the relative pronoun immediately follow its antecedent. Where this is not the case at the time of relativization, then the relative NP is moved to the preferred position. Since a relativizable subject NP is at the beginning of the relative clause (Efik is a SVO language) and contiguous with the antecedent NP at the time of relativization, the movement of the relativized NP in this case is unnecessary.

However, Prep-Objects (to use Keenan & Comrie's term), which include locative, instrumental and comitative NPs, and the possessor NP, require, in addition to these 'basic' operations, other operations. Let us begin with the possessor NP, whose relativization is very much like that of the direct object, indirect object and QVB NP. However, there is a difference, namely that the relativizable NP may or may not be deleted even though a relative pronoun is introduced. Thus we have (25a) and (25b) which are synonymous:

(25)a. /

(25)a. Ete emi afo ekpepde eyen esie oyom fi
1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8
'The man who his son you teach wants you'
1 2 6 5 3 4 7 8

(25)b. Ete emi afo ekpepde eyen oyom fi
'The man who the son you teach wants you'

We will return to this when we consider the actual relativization process. In actual fact, the relativization of a possessor NP does not require an additional operation as such. What happens is that one of the basic operations may or may not be carried out, namely the replacement of the relativized NP with a relative pronoun.

With locative, instrumental and comitative NPs, however, there are additional operations. In all cases, the preposition preceding these NPs are obligatorily deleted. In the comitative case, the morpheme kiet is put in place of the deleted preposition, as we saw in (21c), which is repeated below:

(21)c. Okon emi ŋkesaŋade kiet ŋka Uyo okut utom
'Okon with whom I went to Uyo has found a job'

Finally, in the instrumental case there is something similar to the strategy observed for the Bantu language, Luganda. In a preferred alternative to the major strategy, instrumental NPs are moved to the direct object position and the verbal dat (use) is introduced, as we saw in (23d), which we repeat below:

(23)d. Ikpaŋ emi Okon adade adia udia ifɔnke
'The spoon which Okon uses to eat food is not good'

But for this, in Efik the major strategy operates in all the positions with only a few additional operations on NPs with a preceding pre-:position.

The Major Branch of the A.H. in Efik, then, would look like this

Subj // DO // IO // QVB-NP // POS-NP // Prep-NP

We place the POS-NP lower in the Hierarchy because the relativizable NP may /

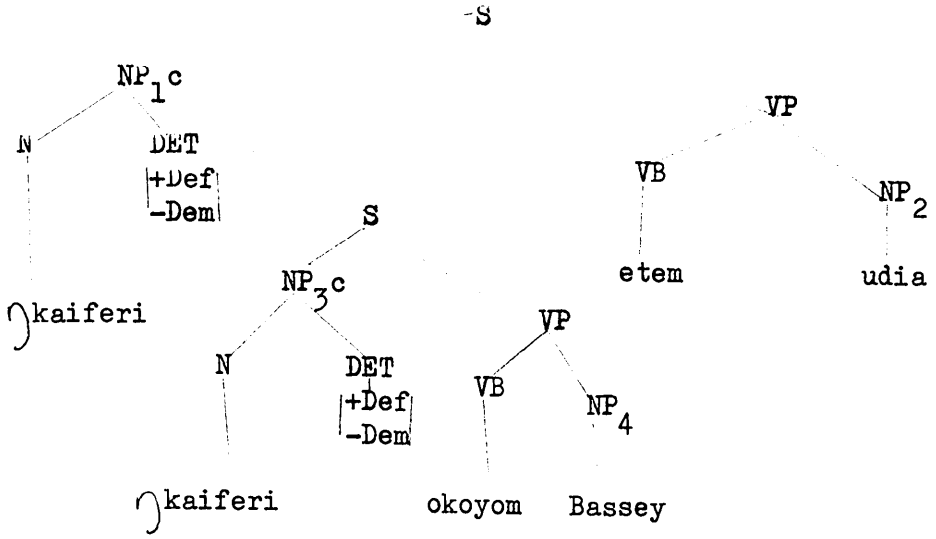
may be retained. In the major strategy, which DO, IO and QVB-NP seem to follow, such an NP is obligatorily deleted. However, apart from this, no additional operations are required, unlike the Prep-NP cases, and this is why we place the latter lowest in the Hierarchy.

8.5 Analysis of Relative Sentences:

Let us now turn to the analysis of relative sentences. There are several proposals for the analysis of relative sentences in English. Thompson (1971), for example, has suggested that "the appropriate underlying representation for a relative sentence is a conjunction rather than a sentence embedded into a noun phrase". Recently Schacter (1973) has suggested that relativization, like focus-construction involves the process of Promotion and that this is preferable to what he calls 'matching analysis', which is the Aspects type of analysis of relative sentences. We do not intend to take issue with these suggestions and we acknowledge that there are merits in these suggestions. Given the Accessibility hypothesis, however, which we have found to offer a lot of insight into relativization in Efik, it seems to us that the 'matching analysis' naturally offers itself. Since, as we have seen above, there are slight variations in the operation of relativization depending on the functions of the NPs, we wish to consider the application of this rule in accor-:dance with the AH for Efik presented above. Let us begin with the subject position. Consider (26a) which is derived from (26b):

(26)a. Ọkaiferi emi okoyọmde Bassey etem udia
1 2 3 4 5 6

'The girl who was looking for Bassey is cooking food'
5 6



26b.

For relativization to operate on 26b, the following conditions will have to be fulfilled:

(1) An NP in the matrix S must be coreferential with an NP in the embedded S;

(2) The coreferent NPs are not [+Dem].

Since the two conditions are fulfilled, the relativization rule will operate:

(a) marking the features [+Pro] and [+Rel] on the relativizable NP;

(b) introducing the subordinate marker <u>-de</u> on the subordinate verb;

(c) optionally deleting the Det of the matrix NP, if it is [+Def] but obligatorily if [-Def].

Later the NP with the transformationally introduced features [+Pro] and [+Rel] will be realised as <u>emi</u>. In the case of 26b if the Det is not deleted - it is [+Def] - (26c) is generated:

(26)c. ŋkaiferi oro emi okoyomde Bassey etem udia
1 2 3 4 5 6 7
'The girl who wanted Bassey is cooking food'
2 1 3 4 5 6 7

However, the performance preference is to have the Det of the matrix NP deleted. When this is done (26a) is then generated:

(26)a. ŋkaiferi emi okoyomde Bassey etem udia
'The girl who wanted Bassey is cooking food'

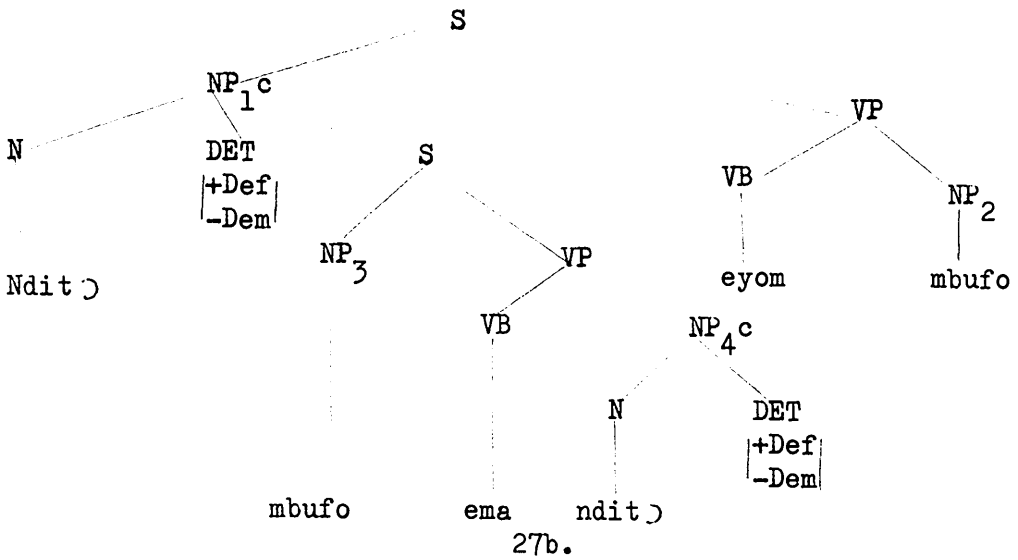
Next /

Next let us consider an example in which the relative pronoun is the direct object, as in (27a):

(27)a. Ndit$_1$ɔ emi$_2$ mbufo$_3$ emade$_4$ eyom$_5$ mbufo

'The children$_1$ you$_3$ like$_4$ are looking$_5$ for you'

which is structured as 27b:



27b.

The application of relativization to an object NP is very much like the application of this rule to a subject NP, except for one thing, namely when the rule applies to an object NP, which is of course separated from its antecedent, as 27b shows, then the rule additionally moves this NP to the front of the relative clause. This movement operation is necessary to prevent the relative ~~clause~~ pronoun and its antecedent from being separated at the surface level. Efik demands that the relative pronoun and its antecedent be not separated. Thus (27c) is ungrammatical:

(27)c. *Ndit ɔ oro mbufo emade emi eyom mbufo

'The children you like whom want you'

The movement of emi to the front of the relative clause generates (27d):

(27)d. Ndit ɔ oro emi mbufo emade eyom mbufo

'The children you like are looking for you'

The optional deletion of oro will then generate (27a), which is repeated here /

here for convenience:

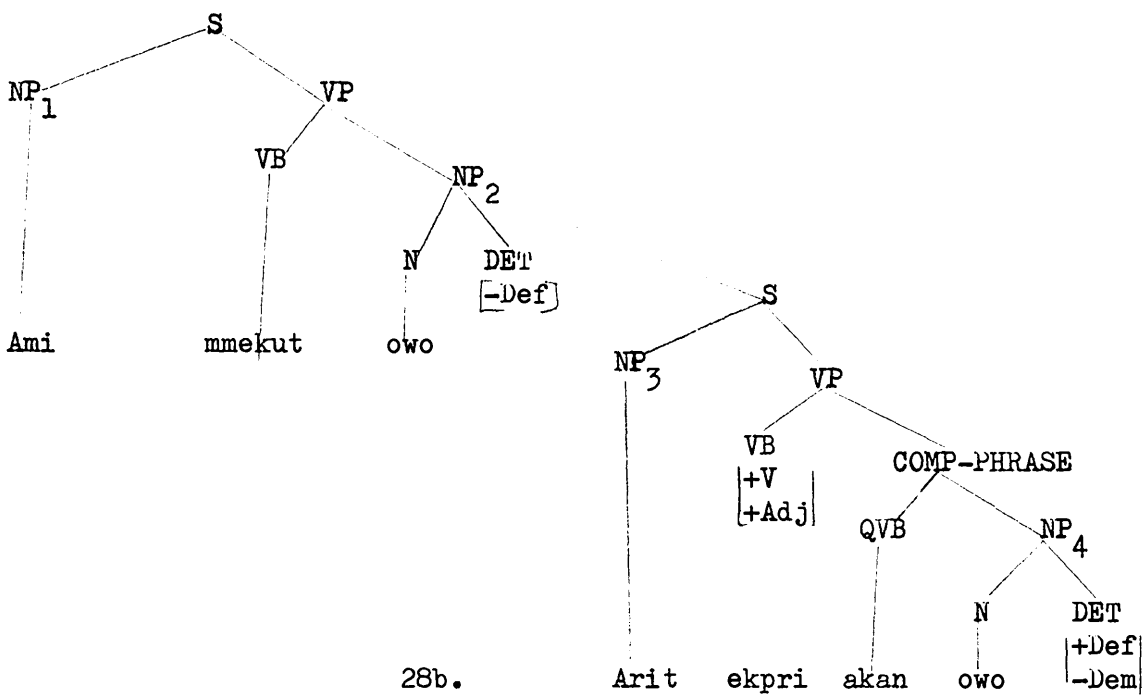
(27)a. Ndit͡ɔ <u>emi</u> mbufo emade eyom mbufo

'The children you like are looking for you'

The operation of relativization on indirect object is the same as that on direct object, so we will consider relativization on a QVB NP, which is just lower than the indirect object in the AH. Consider (28a), which is derived from 28b:

(28)a. Ami mmekut owo emi Arit ekpride akan
1 2 3 4 5 6

'I have seen someone Arit is smaller than'
1 ----2---- 3 --5------- 6



28b.

There is virtually no difference between the application of relativi-:zation on the direct object and the application of the same rule on a QVB NP. As in the case of the direct (and indirect) object, the rela-:tivized NP is moved to the front of the relative clause just immediately following the antecedent NP. However, the movement of this NP does not affect the QVB itself, which still remains in its original position. As the Det of the antecedent NP is [-Def], it is obligatorily deleted and (28a) above is then generated.

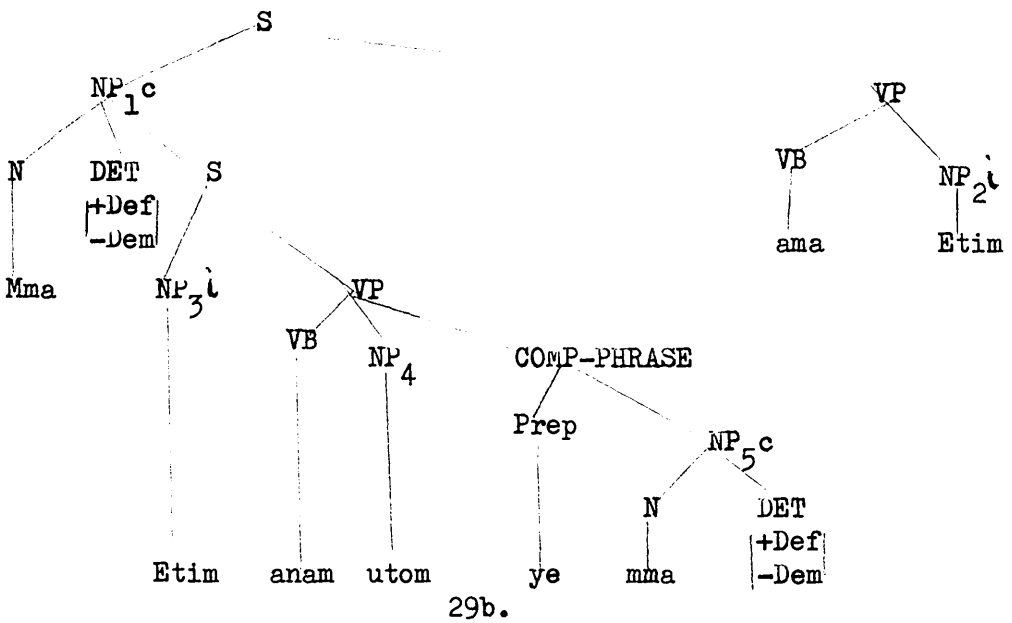
However /

However, other NPs with a preceding particle do not retain the particle if it is a preposition. Locative NPs with the preposition ke have this deleted and that is the only difference between the relativization of a locative NP and that of the direct or indirect object. However, comitative and instrumental NPs involve additional operations and for this reason we would like to generate them. First, let us consider (29a), which has a comitative NP:

(29)a. Mma emi Etim anamde utom kiet ama enye
1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8

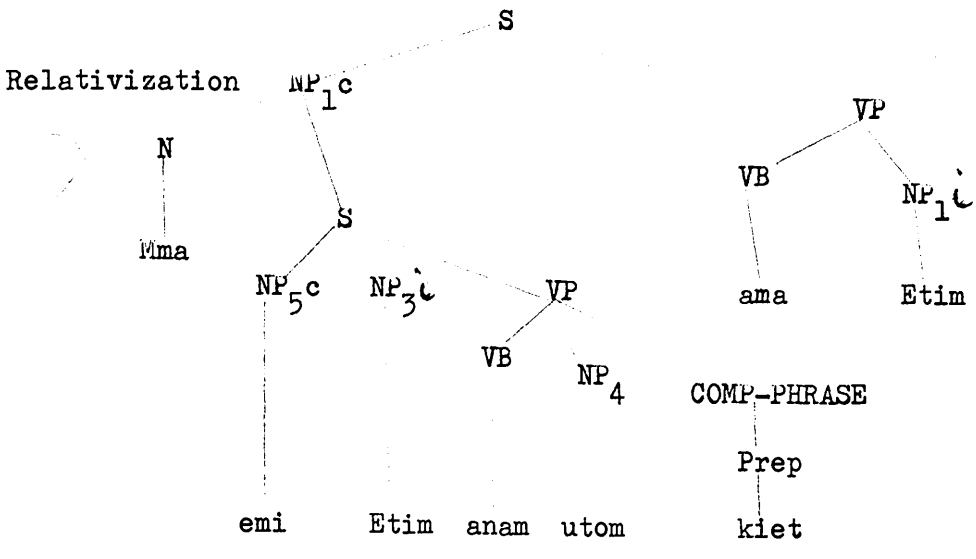
'The lady with whom Etim is working loves him'
1 6 2 3 --4,5----- 7 8

(29a) is structured as 29b:



29b.

As 29b shows, the NP from which emi in (29a) is derived is preceded by a preposition. When relativization applies in 29b, the rule not only brings the relativized NP to the front of the relative clause itself, but it deletes the Prep and in its place substitutes the morpheme kiet. The output of these operations would look like 29c:



29c.

Next, simple pronominalization will operate on NP_2 by coreference with NP_3 thereby deriving enye from the former. In this way (29a) is generated:

(29)a. Mma emi Etim anamde utom kiet ama enye
'The lady with whom Etim works loves him'

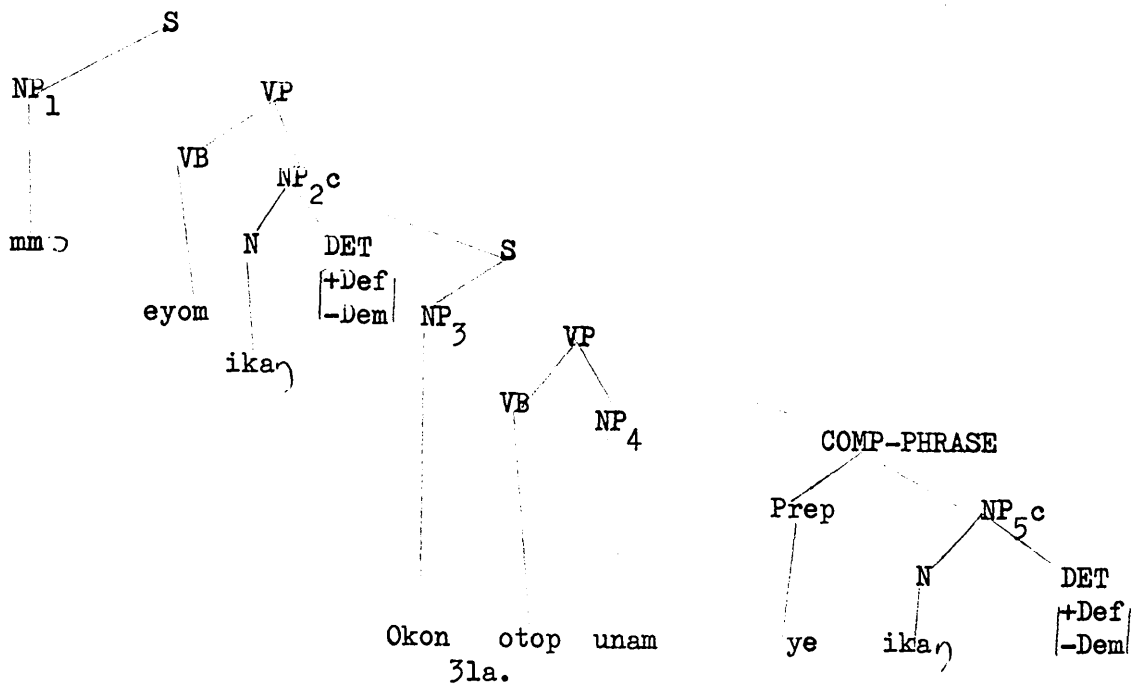
The operation of relativization on an instrumental NP is very much like that on a locative NP. Since instrumental NPs are preceded by the pre-:position ye (with) (or ke occasionally), all that relativization does in such cases is to delete the preposition. However, there is another strategy which, as we have mentioned earlier, generates a preferred alternative. Consider (30):

(30)a. Mmɔ eyom ika$_1$ emi Okon oko$_2$topde una$_3$m
'They want the gun$_1$ with which Okon shot$_2$ the animal$_3$'

(30)b. Mmɔ eyom ika$_1$ emi Okon aka$_1$de otop unam
'They want the gun that Okon used$_1$ to shoot the animal'

Since (30a) and (30b) are paraphrases, we derive them from the same source /

source, namely 31a:



31a.

To generate (30a) from (31a) relativization will perform the following operations:

(1) Add the features [+Pro] and [+Rel] to NP_5;

(2) Delete the Prep ye and move NP_5 to the front of its own clause;

(3) Introduce the subordination marker -de on the verb of the relative subordinate clause;

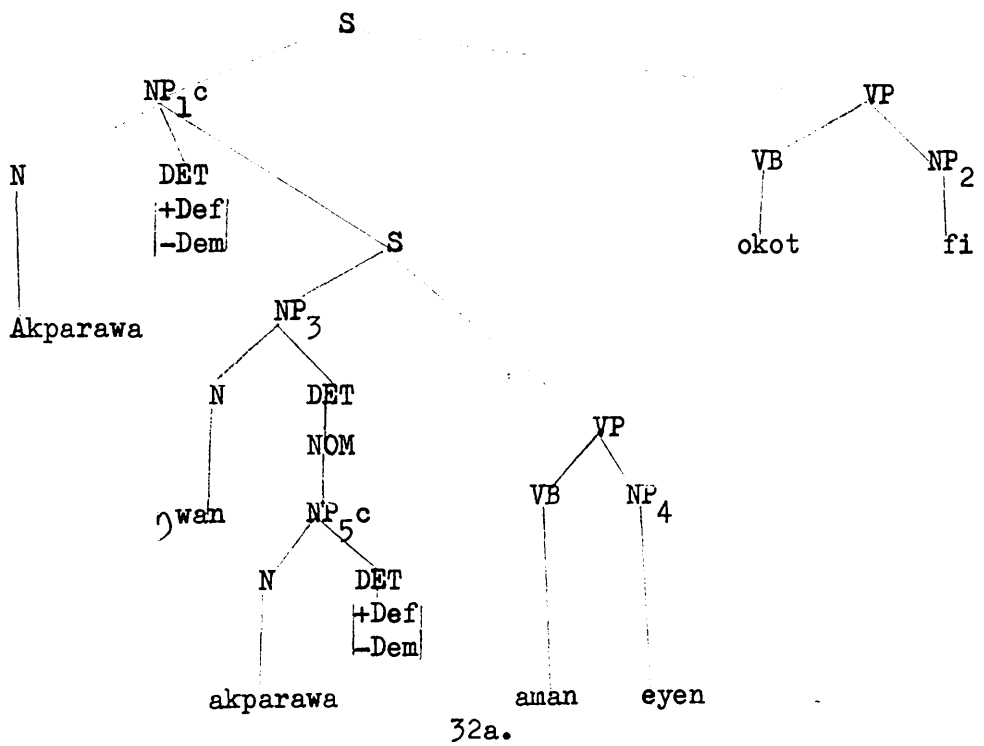
(4) Optionally delete the Det of the antecedent NP (i.e. NP_2).

However to generate (30b) from 31a operations (1) and (2) will be per-:formed. But in the case of (3) instead of merely introducing the subordination marker on the verb of the subordinate clause, this simple verb is converted to 'instrumental' form. This operation is not peculiar to Efik. According to Keenan and Comrie, Luganda uses this strategy to make instrumental NPs accessible to relativization. According to them, "if we convert the simple verb to an 'instrumental' form, it then takes the former instrumental constituent as a direct object--- that is, it moves the instrumental constituent up the AH---and direct objects are accessible to the major strategy in Luganda". Similarly in Efik, after the /

the conversion of the simple verb to an 'instrumental' form, the rela-:tive pronoun appears to be the direct object of the 'lexically instrumental' verbal adade (used). This similarity between Luganda, a Bantu language, and Efik is striking when one considers Winston's (1970) interesting observations of 'Bantu-like features of Efik Structure'.

Finally let us consider the operation of relativization on a possessor NP. Although it is considered last, the possessor NP is in fact higher on the AH than Prep NPs, as shown above. Let us consider example (24), which is repeated below for easy reference. In our view (24) is structured as 32a:

(24) Akparawa emi ɔwan esie amande eyen okot fi
'The young man who his wife has had a baby has invited you'



32a.

In 32a there are only two occurrences of the NP akparawa Det. However, in the surface sentence emi and esie both refer to akparawa and accor-:ding to our grammar too, anaphoric pronouns such as emi and esie should each be derived from two full-fledged NPs. Does it then mean that /

that 32a is not correct as an underlying representation of (24)? We think there is nothing to suppose that 32a is an ill-formed source of (24). The fact is NP_5 is in a position in which it can undergo both possessive pronominalization and relativization. This therefore explains why 32a has two coreferent NPs, instead of three, as the surface counter-:part in (24) might lead one to suppose. Let us then consider some of the rules required to generate (24) from 32a. Let us assume that possessive pronominalization applies first, since unlike relativization the former can also operate on a simplex. Possessive pronominalization will generate (32b) below:

(32)b.*Akparawa ηwan esie aman eyen$_s$ okut fi
'The young man his wife has had a baby invites you'

Relativization can now operate on (32b). As we have already pointed out (cf.8.4), when this rule applies the relativizable NP <u>esie</u> is not obligatorily deleted, unlike in all the cases considered above. It is retained in its original position but the relative pronoun <u>emi</u> is intro-:duced all the same, as in all the other cases. What makes the retention of the relativized NP possible is the feature [+Pos], which is introduced with the application of possessive pronominalization. However, the retention of the relativized possessor NP is optional, since (32c) is not only grammatical, but also an exact paraphrase of (24):

(32)c. Akparawa emi ŋwan amande eyen okot fi
'The young man who his wife has had a baby invites you'

In other words, when relativization operates on a possessor NP, this NP is optionally replaced by the relative pronoun. Thus the difference between the relativization of a possessor NP and the other NPs we have considered is that while the latter are obligatorily replaced by the relative pronoun, the former is optionally replaced.

To recapitulate, relativisation in Efik involves a number of operations depending /

depending on the position of the relativizable NP at the time of relativization. In all cases, it is required that the relative pronoun be placed at the beginning of its clause immediately following the antecedent in the matrix clause. Where at the time of relativization this is not the case, the relative pronoun is moved to this position. With locative, instrumental and comitative NPs minor additional operations are necessary. In all three cases the obligatory deletion of the preceding Prep is required. In the comitative case, however, the preposition is actually replaced by the morpheme kiet (which shows togetherness or company). In the instrumental case, there is a preferred performance alternative in which the simple verb of the relative clause is converted to what Keenan and Comrie call 'instrumental' form. The relativization of a possessor NP differs in one respect from the relativization of all the other NPs in that the relativized NP may be retained because of the feature [+Pos], introduced by a prior application of possessive pronominalization. Finally, in terms of rule ordering, possessive pronominalization, relativization and simple pronominalization seem to apply in that order. Naturally, reflexivization precedes all of them.

CHAPTER NINE

NP DELETION

9.0 Introduction:

NP deletion has been mentioned at several points in this work, but our treatment of this operation has been haphazard and unsatisfactory. As both NP deletion and pronominalization are related, a unified account of the former is desirable.

9.1 Relationship between Pronominalization and NP Deletion:

One obvious way in which pronominalization and NP deletion are related, or alike, is that they both operate on NPs. More fundamental, however, is the fact that at the time some NPs are deleted, fully or partially, they are in fact pronominal, as we have already seen in the preceding Chapters. Sometimes, however, an S may be deleted. In that case, deletion takes place instead of pronominalization, as can be seen from (1):

(1)a.)keyom Ata ewet fi edi enye imaha ndiwet fi
'I wanted Ata to write you but he didn't like to write you'

(1)b.)keyom Ata ewet fi edi enye imaha
'I wanted Ata to write you but he didn't like it'

(1)c.*)keyom Ata ewet fi edi enye imaha enye
'I wanted Ata to write you but he didn't like it'

We will return to examples like (1) later.

9.2 General Principle on Deletion:

The general principle on deletion is that the deleted element be recover-:able. Chomsky's (1965:182) 'general principle' for 'erasure operations' (deletions) is therefore designed to ensure recoverability. This prin-:ciple states that

"A term X of the proper analysis can be used to erase a term Y of the /

the proper analysis just in case the inherent part of the formative X is not distinct from the inherent part of the formative Y".

But this kind of principle is said to be adequate only for deletions which 'have a characteristic identity condition', according to Grinder (1971:184) and will not guarantee recoverability in the case of what he calls a 'Free Deletion Transformation'.

For our purposes, we will be concerned with deletions that leave null elements after the operation. Deletions that leave non-null elements are in fact pronominalization operations, as we have shown in the pre-:ceding chapters.

NP deletion may be divided into two broad categories, namely 'free' deletion and deletion by coreference. The former is 'free' in the sense that the operation is not governed by coreference, which is generally recognised as a sure means of recoverability. Nonetheless as we will see presently, there are some restrictions on so-called free deletion. These restrictions, as we will see, help to ensure recoverability.

9.3.1 Free Deletions:

In general free deletions are optional, but deletions by coreference may be optional or obligatory, as we will see when we discuss this kind of deletion. The following may be regarded as free deletions: Place-:Holder NP Deletion and Subject Deletion.

9.3.2 Place-Holder NP Deletion:

In Chapter Four (cf.4.1.3) we discussed the nominals ŋkp͡ and owo and showed that very commonly these nominals serve as 'place-holders'. We also showed that as place holders owo and ŋkp͡ are often predictable in the environment where they occur and can sometimes be deleted. Another place-holder nominal is unam (animal). Together these nominals seem to indicate /

indicate a kind of nominal classification. All inanimate things are ŋkpɔ; all animate but non-human things are unam; and all human things are owo. In learning the language therefore the Efik speaker learns this system of nominal classification. We call these NPs 'place-holders' because they can and do substitute for more precise NPs in some contexts. Given these environments, then, place-holders can be deleted and recovery will be no problem at all to the Efik speaker, even though there may be no other coreferent NP to appeal to. However, the deletion of these NPs is not haphazard. Consider the following examples:

(2)a. Nso ke oyom? : 'What do you want?'
1 2 1 2

(2)b. Nso ŋkpɔ ke oyom? : 'What thing do you want?'

(3)a. Bassey okoyom anie? : 'Who did Bassey want?'
1 1

(3)b. Bassey okoyom anie owo? : 'Who person did Bassey want?'

(4)a. Mmaha se afo anamde : 'I don't like what you do'

(4)b. Mmaha ŋkpɔ se afo anamde : 'I don't like the thing you do'

(5)a. Eke mimaha ntre ɔkpɔŋ :'Who doesn't like it so let him leave'

(5)b. Owo eke mimaha ntre ɔkpɔŋ :'Who doesn't like it so let him leave'

(6)a. Ata okpon : 'Ata is big'

(6)b. Ata okpon owo : 'Ata is a big person'

(7)a. Ebua emi ekpri eti eti : 'This dog is very small'

(7)b. Ebua emi ekpri unam eti eti : 'This dog is very small'

Let us now examine the environments in which ŋkpɔ, unam and owo may be deleted. In (2) and (3) questioned ŋkpɔ and owo may be deleted. In other words, when these nominals are preceded by the WH question mor-:pheme, they are optionally deleted.

Since the speaker knows that nso occurs with non-human nominals and anie with human ones, the recovery of ŋkpɔ and owo respectively is never in doubt. However in (8a) below, unam cannot be recovered; the recovery depends on the knowledge of the context in which the utterance is made.

(8)a. Nso unam ke ama? : 'What animal do you like?'

Given /

Given (8b) at random, the speaker will intuitively supply ŋkpɔ and not unam as the deleted element:

(8)b. Nso ke ama? : 'What do you like?'

Since unam is not uniquely recoverable, if deleted, in the environment WH N, we want to restrict the deletion of Place-Holder NPs to only ŋkpɔ and owo in this case. Similarly in (4), the speaker may delete the antecedent of the relative pronoun se, if this antecedent is ŋkpɔ. In (5) the antecedent of eke is deletable if it is owo. So in this case, it is the relative pronoun which makes the recovery of ŋkpɔ and owo possible.

In (6) and (7) co-occurrence relationships between the place-holder and the subject of the sentence makes the recovery of owo and unam possible in those examples. In (6b) and (7b) owo and unam refer to Ata and ebua respectively. Since Ata is human and ebua is non-human but animate, the speaker knows intuitively that owo and unam were deleted in (6a) and (7a) respectively. If the subject is inanimate in this case, then ŋkpɔ will be recognised as the deleted element. In this case, however, it is obligatorily deleted as (9) show:

(9)a. ??Eto emi okpon ŋkpɔ : 'This tree is a big thing'
(9)b. Eto emi okpon : 'This tree is big'

There are other instances in which ŋkpɔ or owo may be deleted but there is no way of uniquely determining what was actually deleted out of the context in which the utterance was made. Thus in the following examples, either ŋkpɔ or owo could have been the deleted element:

(10)a. Bassey ama akamba : 'Bassey likes a big one'
(10)b. Nnyin iyom emi : 'We want this'
(10)c. Mmɔ eyom kpukpru : 'They want all'

(11)a. Bassey ama akamba owo/ŋkpɔ :'Bassey likes a big person/thing'
(11)b. Nnyin iyom owo/ŋkpɔ emi : 'We want this person/thing'
(11)c. Mmɔ eyom kpukpru owo/ŋkpɔ :'They want everybody/everything'

Contextual /

Contextual deletions (by which we mean deletions whose recovery are possible only in actual contexts in which the utterances are made) are a common feature of Efik. Thus with nominal modifiers - adjectives, quan-:tifiers and demonstratives - the nominal is deletable once the partici-:pants in the discourse know what they are talking about. We will return to this again when we talk about Subject Deletion.

What we have been saying so far is that the nature of ọkpọ, owo and unam is such that they may be deleted in some environments. In some cases these elements are recoverable from the grammar while in other cases there is no way of doing so except with knowledge of the context in which the utterance was made. Regarding the cases in which recovery is possible from the grammar, it is possible to propose a single rule which can account for such deletions. Let us call the rule Place-Holder NP Deletion and state it below:

Place-Holder NP Deletion

Given the Place-Holder NPs ọkpọ, unam and owo, ọkpọ and owo may be deleted if they are antecedents of se and eke, or if they are preceded by a WH morpheme which requires an inanimate or human nominal respectively, or by a verbal which is both [+V] and [+Adj], but unam is deletable only given such a verbal.

As ọkpọ is obligatorily deleted if preceded by a verbal which is [+V] and [+Adj], the rule can be constrained to apply obligatorily in this case. The above rule allows only recoverable Place-Holder NPs to be deleted.

9.3.3 Subject Deletion:

In Chapter Two (cf.2.8.1) we showed that the VP bears the number and person features of the subject nominal, as can be seen from the following examples:

(12)a. /

(12)a. Ami nnyom okpokoro oko : 'I want yonder table'
(12)b. Afo oyom okpokoro oko : 'You want yonder table'
(12)c. Enye oyom okpokoro oko : 'He/she/it wants yonder table'
(12)d. Nnyin iyom okpokoro oko : 'We want yonder table'
(12)e. Mbufo oyom okpokoro oko : 'You (pl)want yonder table'
(12)f. Mmɔ eyom okpokoro oko : 'They want yonder table'

where ń, ó, o, i, e, e, which are prefixes, indicate the number and person features of the subject, subject of course to tone operation. With such prefixes, then, the personal pronoun subjects in (12) are deletable and (13) can then be generated:

(13)a. Nnyom okpokoro oko : 'I want yonder table'
(13)b. Oyom okpokoro oko : 'You want yonder table'
(13)c. Oyom okpokoro oko : 'He/she/it wants yonder table'
(13)d. Iyom okpokoro oko : 'We want yonder table'
(13)e. Eyom okpokoro oko : 'You (pl) want yonder table'
(13)f. Eyom okpokoro oko : 'They want yonder table'

Subject deletion is not haphazard. We said in Chapter Two:

> "Such a deletion (i.e. subject), however, will not take place until the transformation that copies the salient syntactic features of the subject (namely features of person and number) onto the VP has applied. It can then be claimed that the subject was deleted by identity with these features. In this case all nouns are necessarily third person and although the same concord rule that copies the person and number features of the subject onto the VP applies, we will have to limit allowable deletion to subjects that are personal pronouns, since these but not noun NPs can be uniquely recovered".

However, as we mentioned in that Chapter, in everyday speech, all subjects, whether they be personal pronoun or noun, are deletable once they have been first mentioned. Such deletions are easily recoverable in context. But because our grammar cannot handle contextual matters of this kind, we limit our subject deletion to just those instances where the subjects are recoverable from the grammar itself.

However /

However, in complex structures, it appears that the third person pro-:nouns require coreference in addition, for them to be deleted. Thus although ami and afo, for example, in (14) may be deleted, enye in (16a) for example, may not, as the ungrammaticality of (16b) seems to indicate:

(14)a. Edieke ami ndepde raket oro, etubom eyema
1 2 3 4 5 6 7
'If I buy the racket, the headmaster will like it'
1 2 3 5 4 6 ----7----

(14)b. Edieke afo edepde raket oro, etubom eyema
'If you buy the racket, the headmaster will like it'

(15)a. Edieke ndepde raket oro, etubom eyema
'If I buy the racket, the headmaster will like it'

(15)b. Edieke edepde raket oro, etubom eyema
'If you buy the racket, the headmaster will like it'

(16)a. Edieke enye edepde raket oro, etubom eyema
'If he buys the racket, the headmaster will like it'

(16)b.*Edieke edepde raket oro, etubom eyema
'If he buys the racket, the headmaster will like it'

From the above examples, then, on Subject Deletion, the rule can be informally stated thus:

Subject Deletion:

Except for the third person pronoun in complex sentences, personal pronoun subjects may be deleted.

The condition for the application of the above rule will be a prior application of the Concord Rule that copies the features of Number and Person of the subject to be deleted onto the VP, as we have already pointed out.

9.3.4 Unspecified Agent Deletion:

This deletion rule allows the human Place-Holder NP owo to be deleted under certain conditions that will be stated presently. Consider the following examples:

(17)a. /

(17)a. Owo atabi min emi : 'Someone has tasted this wine'
1 2 3 4 1 ---2------ 4 3

(17)b. Owo ama$_1$ana ke bed emi : 'Someone had$_1$slept in this bed'

(18)a. Etabi min emi : 'Someone has tasted this wine'

(18)b. Ema ena ke bed$_{\wedge}^{emi}$: 'Someone has slept in this bed'

As (17) and (18) are paraphrases, it must be assumed that the latter are derived from the former by the deletion of the unspecified agent owo in each case. However, observe that it is not just enough to delete the unspecified agent in (17). To do this only would generate (19) which are ungrammatical:

(19)a.*Atabi min emi : 'Someone has tasted this wine'

(19)b.*Ama ana ke bed$_{\wedge}^{emi}$: 'Some had slept in this bed'

The difference between (18) and (19) is that in the former the verbs are plural whereas in (19) the same verbs are singular. So it appears that the deletion of Unspecified Agent requires that the verb be obligatorily pluralized, if it was singular at the time the rule applies. When this is done, then (18) is generated.

There are conditions for the application of this rule. First, the NP must be subject. Second, it must be the human place-holder owo. And third, the verb itself must not be [+Adj]. This last condition is necessary to block such strings as (20):

(20)a. *Ekpon : 'Someone is big'

(20)b. *Eye : 'Someone is pretty'

Perhaps we should add in passing that sentences like (18) are a rather neutral and non-committal way of saying something. Thus they can be glossed in the following way in English.

(18)a. Etabi min emi : 'This wine has been tasted'

(18)b. Ema ena ke bed emi : 'This bed has been slept in'

9.4.1 Deletion by Coreference:

Deletion by Coreference involves a relationship between two NPs, just as pronominalization does. In this kind of deletion, one NP is used to delete another. It is the undeleted coreferent NP that will enable the deleted one to be recovered other things being equal. As we have already seen, there are some cases of the so-called free deletions that involve some kind of coreference appeal: subject deletion, for example. In Efik, deletions by coreference include the following: Pronoun Deletion in complex or conjoined structures, the Partial Deletion of Reflexive Pronoun and S Deletion.

9.4.2 Pronoun Deletion in Complex or Conjoined Structures:

In our definition, complex structures include the following sentence types: structures with embedded complement clauses as (21); structures with embedded adjunct or adverbial clauses as (22); and structures with relative clauses as (23):

(21)a. Bassey oyom ndikpeme eyen :'Bassey wants to look after the baby'
1 2 3 1 2 3

(21)b. Iban oro ekere ete mmimo imeye
1 2 3 4 5 6

'Those women think that they are beautiful'
2 1 3 4 5 ---6---

(22)a. Edieke Okon edide mi, nnyesian enye:'If Okon comes here, I will tell him'
1 2 3 4 5 1 2 3 ------4---- 5

(22)b. Okposuk edi Ata amade mi, enye inyaake mi
-------1--- 2 3 4 5

'Although Ata likes me, he doesn't help me'
1 2 3 4 -------5----

(23) Ete emi nnyin iyomde odu ke utom idahaemi
1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8

'The man that we want is at work now'

Conjoined (or Co-ordinate) structures in our definition are structures underlying sentences of the following sort :

(24)a. /

(24)a.Arit ama akaudua onyuɔ ekedep bia:'Arit went to market and bought yams'
(24)b. Iban oro ema enam utom enyuɔ ebɔ ediwak okuk
'The women worked and got a lot money'

As we have already pointed out in Chapter Six, (24a) involves an obligatory deletion of the subject of the complement clause, since without such a deletion (25a) would have been generated:

(25)a. *Bassey oyom enye ndikpeme eyen:'Bassey wants him to look after the baby'

In (21b) mmimɔ is optionally deletable, thus (25b) is synonymous with it:

(25)b.Iban oro ekere ete imeye:'Those women think that they are beautiful'

However, if the pronoun is object of the complement clause, deletion is apparently not allowed. Thus (26b), for example, is ungrammatical:

(26)a. Iban oro ekere ete nnyin ibet mmimɔ
'Those women think that we are waiting for them'

(26)b. *Iban oro ekere ete nnyin ibet
'Those women think that we are waiting for them'

The same kind of ungrammaticality results where the complement clause is the subject of the matrix clause, as the following examples show:

(27)a. Ama akpa Ime idem nnyin ndikpe enye okuk
'It surprised Ime for us to pay him money'

(27)b. *Ama akpa Ime idem nnyin ndikpe okuk
'It surprised Ime for us to pay him money'

It should be recalled that sentences like (27a) are derived from a source underlying (27c):

(27)c. Nnyin ndikpe Ime okuk ama akpa Ime idem
'For us to pay Ime money surprised Ime'

In (22) the pronoun enye is optionally deletable, thus (28) are synonymous with (22):

(28)a. /

(28)a. Edieke Okon edide nnyesian:'If Okon comes, I will tell him'

(28)b. Okposuk edi Ata amade mi, inyaŋake mi
'Although Ata likes me, he doesn't help me'

As can be seen from (22a), the pronoun is deletable, even if it is an object in its own clause.

The deletion of the relative pronoun in (23) generates (29) below:

(29) Ete nnyin iyomde odu ke utom idahaemi:The man we want is at work now'

In (24) the subjects of the following (or right branching) co-ordinate sentences have been deleted obligatorily, otherwise (30) would have been generated:

(30)a.* Arit ama aka udua enye onyuŋ ekedep bia
'Arit went to market and she bought yams'

(30)b.* Iban oro ema enam utom mmɔ enyuŋ ebɔ ediwak okuk
'The women worked and got a lot of money'

In Chapter Six we proposed a general statement or principle governing the deletion of NPs in complex and conjoined structures, which we repeat below:

> "Given coreference, a pronoun is obligatorily deleted if it is the subject of an infinitive object clause, or an unemphatic subject of a right branching conjunct of nyuŋ, otherwise it is optionally deletable".

Now that it is known that objects of complement clauses are not to be deleted even under coreference, the above statement needs revision, as given below:

Pronoun Deletion in Complex and Co-ordinate Structures:

Given Coreference in a Complex or Co-ordinate Structure, a pronoun

(a) must not be deleted if it is the object of a complement clause, the emphatic subject of a right branching conjunct of nyuŋ, or a reflexive pronoun;

(b) must be deleted if it is the subject of infinitive object clause, or an unemphatic subject of a right branching conjunct of nyuŋ;

(c) /

(c) may be deleted in other environments, unless barred by other deletion rules.

If the above principle is taken as a Pronoun Deletion Rule in those structures informally stated, then the rule applies obligatorily if the pronoun is the subject of a complement clause in which the infinitivi-:zation rule has applied, or it is an unemphatic subject of a right branching conjunct of nyuŋ. Thus (21a) is derived from (25a) and (24) are derived from (30) in this way. If, however, the pronoun is object of a complement clause, an emphatic subject of a right branching con-:junct of nyuŋ or a reflexive pronoun, then the rule is blocked. In this way (26b) and (27b) above, and (31b) below, are not generated:

(31)a. Edieke nnyin inɔde Ata okuk, enye eyesin idem esie ŋwed
1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9
'If we give Ata money, he will put himself through school'
1 2 3 4 5 6 7,8 9

(31)b.*Edieke nnyin inɔde Ata okuk, enye eyesin ŋwed
'If we give Ata money, he will put himself through school'

In constrast with (31b) however, (32b) is grammatical, where the deleted pronoun is not reflexive:

(32)a. Edieke Ata ɔnɔde nnyin okuk oro, nnyin iyesin enye ŋwed
'If Ata gives us the money, we will put him through school'

(32)b. Edieke Ata ɔnɔde nnyin okuk oro, nnyin iyesin ŋwed
'If Ata gives us that money, we will put him through school'

If, however, the conditions in (a) and (b) do not hold, then the rule applies optionally. The condition in (c) then accounts for the deletion of relative pronouns, imɔ/mmimɔ as subject, and personal pronouns in complex sentences with Adjunct or Adverbial clauses.

9.4.3 Possessive Pronoun Deletion:

A possessive pronoun may be deleted on certain conditions. Consider (34), which are derived from (33); and (35) which cannot be said to underlie /

underlie (36):

(33)a. Bassey okut ete esie : 'Bassey has seen his father'
1 2 3 ---1---- 3 2

(33)b. Edieke Bassey akade Uyo, eyesobo ŋwan esie do
1 2 3
'If Bassey goes to Uyo, he will meet his wife there'
1 ----2---- 3

(34)a. Bassey okut ete : 'Bassey has seen his father'

(34)b. Edieke Bassey akade Uyo eyesobo ŋwan
'If Bassey goes to Uyo, he will meet his wife'

(35)a. Bassey okut moto esie : 'Bassey has seen his car'

(35)b. Edieke Bassey edide Uyo nnyewut enye ŋwed esie
1 2
'If Bassey comes to Uyo, I will show him his book'
1 2

(36)a. Bassey okut moto : 'Bassey has seen a car'

(36)b. Edieke Bassey edide Uyo, nnyewut enye ŋwed
'If Bassey comes to Uyo, I will show him a book'

The fact that (36) differ from (35) in interpretations because of the deletion of the pronoun esie shows that the possessive pronoun is not to be deleted in such examples, in spite of the coreference. Why is the possessive pronoun deletable in (33) but not in (35)? We think that the answer lies in the fact that in (33) the objects possessed - ete (father) and ŋwan (wife) - are 'inalienable' to the possessor while in (35) the objects are 'alienable' to the possessor. However, it is not as simple as that. Consider the following examples:

(37)a. Bassey oyom ŋwan esie : 'Bassey wants his wife'

(37)b. Bassey oyom eyen-eka esie : 'Bassey wants his brother/sister'

(38)a. Bassey oyom ŋwan : 'Bassey wants his wife'

(38)b. Bassey oyom eyen-eka : 'Bassey wants his brother/sister'

(39)a. Ami nnyom ŋwan mmi : 'I want my wife'

(39)b. Ami nnyom eyen-eka mmi : 'I want my brother/sister'

(39)c. Afo oyom ŋwan fo : 'You want your wife'

(39)d. Afo oyom eyen-eka fo : 'You want your brother/sister'

(40)a. Ami nnyom ŋwan : 'I want a wife'

(40)b. Afo oyom eyen-eka:'You want a brother/sister'(who is not yet born)

In /

In (37) the possessive pronoun can be deleted without a difference in meaning, as these examples are synonymous with (38). In (39), however, the deletion of the possessive pronouns mmi (my) and fo (your) results in differences in interpretations. These differences are similar to the differences we saw in (36) above, where the possessed objects are 'alienable' to the possessor. (39) and (40) show that for the possessive pronoun to be deleted, it is not just enough that the possessed object be 'inalienable' to the possessor but that the possessive pronoun itself must be third person. So the Possessive Pronoun Deletion Rule then applies optionally just in case

(a) it is coreferential with another NP in the phrase marker (simplex or complex),

(b) it is third person,

(c) the thing possessed is 'inalienable', more or less.

These conditions, then, will permit the deletion of esie in (33), dis-:allows the deletion of esie in (35) and the deletion of mmi and fo in (39). However (41) are still problems, for while (41a) violates con-:dition (b), (41b) still creates a semantic problem, even though the conditions for deletion of the possessive pronoun are satisfied.

(41)a. Ami nnyom ete mi : 'I want my father'
(41)b. Mmɔ ekut iban mmɔ : 'They have seen their wives'

(42)a. Ami nnyom ete : 'I want my father'
(42)b. Mmɔ ekut iban : 'They have seen women'

In formulating the Pronoun Deletion Rule in Complex and Conjoined Structures, above, we indicated in condition (c) that this rule does not apply if a pronoun is barred from deletion by other rules. One such rule is the Possessive Pronoun Deletion Rule just formulated above. It has been shown that this rule does not allow a possessive pronoun to be deleted /

deleted if, among other things, the possessed object is 'alienable' to the possessor. In this way, esie (his) in (43a) is protected, as it were, from deletion by the Pronoun Deletion Rule in Complex and Conjoined Structures, by the Possessive Pronoun Deletion Rule.

(43)a. Edieke ŋkutde Bassey, nnyeb$_1$ enye ŋwed esie$_1$

'If I see Bassey, I will get his book'

If esie were to be deleted, then (43b), which is not necessarily synonymous with (43a), would be generated:

(43)b. Edieke ŋkutde Bassey nnyeb$_1$ enye ŋwed

'If I see Bassey, I will get a book'

9.4.4 Partial Deletion of Reflexive Pronoun

In Chapter Five (cf.5.1.4), we showed that there are what we refer to as 'Reflexive Suffixes'. The presence of these suffixes, we demonstrated then, prevents a reflexivizable NP from actually undergoing reflexivization and in consequence is obligatorily deleted. In this section, we do not wish to reconsider this kind of deletion, since the matter was exhaustively dealt with in that Chapter. But in formulating the Pronoun Deletion Rule in Complex and Conjoined Structures, we indicated that among other conditions the rule does not apply if the pronoun is reflexive. We should point out that since the deletion of a reflexivizable NP which failed to be reflexivized applies well before the above Pronoun Deletion Rule, there is no problem at all. Besides, at the time that this NP is deleted, it is not in fact a pronoun.

However, although a reflexive pronoun must not be fully deleted, as predicted by the Complex and Conjoined Structures Pronoun Deletion Rule, it may be partially deleted. Consider (45), which are derived from (44), by /

by the deletion of the possessive determiner (PD):

(44)a. Ami nyenyaŋa idem mmi : 'I will help myself'
(44)b. Afo eyenyaŋa idem fo : 'You will help yourself'
(44)c. Enye eyenyaŋa idem esie : 'He/she will help himself/herself'
(44)d. Nnyin iyenyaŋa idem nnyin : 'We will help ourselves'
(44)e. Mbufo eyenyaŋa idem mbufo : 'You will help yourselves'
(44)f. Mmɔ eyenyaŋa idem mmɔ : 'They will help themselves'

(45)a. Ami nyenyaŋa idem : 'I will help myself'
(45)b. Afo eyenyaŋa idem : 'You will help yourself'
(45)c. Enye eyenyaŋa idem : 'He/she will help himself/herself'
(45)d. Nnyin iyenyaŋa idem : 'We will help ourselves'
(45)e. Mbufo eyenyaŋa idem : 'You will help yourselves'
(45)f. Mmɔ eyenyaŋa idem : 'They will help themselves'

As we have already pointed out, one of the conditions for the application of the reflexive rule is that subject and object be identical in a simplex. In particular, the identity of Number and Person is required. Recall that it is also these very features that are crucial for the deletion of subjects. If we regard mmi, fo, esie, etc. as Number and Person markers on the reflexive pronouns, then these markers are optionally deletable, if they are identical with the subjects of the sentences, as (44) and (45) indicate. The subjects are still deletable after the deletion of these markers. Thus (45a) and (45b), for example, are synonymous with (46a) and (46b) respectively:

(46)a. Nyenyaŋa idem : 'I will help myself'
(46)b. Eyenyaŋa idem : 'You will help yourself'

9.4.5 Sentential Object Deletion:

Finally, let us return to the examples in (1), which we repeat below:

(1)a. ŋkeyom Ata ewet fi edi enye imaha ndiwet fi
'I wanted Ata to write you but he didn't like to write you'
(1)b. /

(1)b. ŋkeyom Ata ewet fi edi enye imaha
'I wanted Ata to write you but he didn't like it'

(1)c.*ŋkeyom Ata ewet fi edi enye imaha enye
'I wanted Ata to write you but he didn't like it'

The question is since (1a) and (1b) are paraphrases, is (b) derived from (1a) via (1c), or by merely deleting the sentential object ndiwet fi? That is we are asking whether the sentential object is pronominalized and then obligatorily deleted, as we have seen in the case of the deletion of the subjects of such clauses. However, in the case of the deletion of such NPs, we were able to show surface evidence (cf.6.2) that pronominalization had indeed applied prior to deletion. At the moment, no such evidence is available in the case of the sentential object. Until evidence shows up, I am afraid we will assume that such sentential deletion takes place without a prior pronominalization of the sentence itself, in so far as there is another sentence or clause like it to which itrefers. (1a) and (1b), for example, are derived from the structure underlying (47):

(47) ŋkeyom - Ata ewet fi - edi Ata imaha - Ata ewet fi
'I wanted - Ata wrote you - but Ata didn't like - Ata wrote you'

where there are clearly two copies of the same clause.

So as we indicated at the beginning, it seems as if deletion applies instead of pronominalization in the case of the sentential object. It should be noted that in our analysis such sentential objects are not in fact NPs.

The above, then, are the major NP deletion rules in Efik. As we have seen, the language has various devices or strategies to ensure that the deleted elements are recoverable, even in the so-called free deletions.

APPENDIX

SUMMARY OF RULES

Before we give a summary of the rules, let us look at the work in general. There have been some problems which our model of grammar has either not been able to handle or has done so in a way which is not entirely elegant. For example, as was pointed out in Chapter Five (cf.5.5) sentences with reciprocal pronouns cannot be generated and the derivation of reflexive suffixes (cf.5.1.4) has not been entirely elegant.

However, interesting facts which strongly support some hypotheses have come to light. For instance, the occurrence of im)/mmim) (cf.6.3.1-4) strongly enhances Kuno's Direct and Indirect Discourse hypothesis, and some aspects of relativization confirm some of the predictions of Keenan and Comrie's Accessibility Hierarchy hypothesis.

Interesting in themselves are the analyses of the so-called picture nouns (cf.5.4.2), the deletion of nominal modifiers in NP co-ordination (cf.3.6), the 'hierarchy' of the application of simple pronominalization, the role of tones in certain syntactic phenomena (cf.5.1.3, 5.1.4, 5.1.5, 5.4.2), and the fact that reflexivization consistently applies in a simplex.

The Base

1. S $\longrightarrow$ (Q) NP VP (ADJT)

2. VP $\longrightarrow$ AUX $\left\{ \begin{matrix} (\text{VB}(\text{NP})) \\ \text{PRED} \end{matrix} \right\}$ (NP) $\left(\begin{matrix} \text{COMP-PHRASE} \\ \text{S} \end{matrix} \right)$

3. AUX $\longrightarrow$ C TENSE / ASPECT (NEG)

. /

Rules (4)-(6), which would expand the TENSE/ASPECT element and introduce certain modal distinctions, are not given, since (as already pointed out on p.32) the details in this area of the grammar have not been worked out satisfactorily (cf. p.52).

7. PRED → (NP) (COMP-PHRASE)

8. COMP-PHRASE → COMP $\begin{Bmatrix} NP \\ S \end{Bmatrix}$

9. COMP → $\begin{Bmatrix} Prep \\ QVB \end{Bmatrix}$

10. NP → $\begin{Bmatrix} (\begin{Bmatrix} Quant \\ Q \end{Bmatrix}) \quad N \; DET \quad (\begin{Bmatrix} S \\ EMPH \end{Bmatrix}) \\ S \\ ye \; NP \; NP* \end{Bmatrix}$

11. Q → $\begin{Bmatrix} YN/\# & - \\ WH/ & - \; N \end{Bmatrix}$

12. DET → (NUM) (NOM) ART

13. NOM → NP

14. EMPH → $\begin{Bmatrix} REDUPL \\ INT \end{Bmatrix}$

15. ADJT → $\begin{Bmatrix} COMP\text{-}PHRASE \\ PRE\text{-}S \quad S \\ MAN \\ DEG \end{Bmatrix}$

16. N → CS

17. VB → CS

18. ART → CS

19. [+N] → [±Common], [±Animate], [±Count], [±Pro]

20. [+Animate] → [±Human]

21. [-Animate] → [±Loc]

22. [+Loc] → [±Place]

23. /

23. +Count → [±Sing]

24. +Pro → [±I]

25. -I → [±II]

26. -Pro → [-II]

27. +ART → [±Def]

28. +Def → [±Dem]

29. +Dem → [±Prox]

30. -Prox → [±There]

31. -Def → [±Spec]

32. +VB → [±V], [±Adj]

33. +VB → CS/ [+N] ... - (... [+N])

Transformations:

Below are a summary of the major transformations we have discussed in the text. They do not necessarily apply in the order in which they are pre-:sented. In a full grammar it may be convenient or necessary to re-order them.

34.a. Reflexivisation (Obligatory):

S.D. $S[X\ [N]_{NP}\ [ART]_{NP}\ AUX\ VB\ [(N)_{NP}\ (ART)_{NP}]\ \begin{matrix}Prep\\QVB\end{matrix}\ [N]_{NP}\ [ART]_{NP}\ Y]_S$

1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9 10 11

Conditions

(a) 2 & 3 are coreferential either with 6 & 7, or with 9 & 10,

(b) both 6 & 7 and 9 & 10 are VP constituents,

(c) 1 - 11 is a simplex,

S.C. (a) Operations

If 6 or 9 is [-Pro], change this feature to [+Pro] and introduce the feature [+Refl]. Then copy these features as well as those of Number and Person onto 7 or 10, as the case may be. If there are NP constituents other than N and ART, delete them.

Output /

Output:

Either 1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9 10 11

6	7
+Pro	+Pro
+Refl	+Refl
αNo	αNo
βPer	βPer

Or 1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9 10 11

9	10
+Pro	+Pro
+Refl	+Refl
αNo	αNo
βPer	βPer

Later the N, which is the noun stem, is realised as idem and ART as mi, fo, esie, nnyin, mbufo and mm), as the case may be.

The rule generates the following:

(i) Ata anyaŋa idem esie : 'Ata has helped himself'

(ii) Ata anwaŋa ye idem esie : 'Ata is fighting with himself'

(iii) Ata ewet ŋwet abaŋa idem esie : 'Ata has written a book about himself'

Condition (α) disallows (iv) as idem here is a base item and (c) disallows (v):

(iv) *Ata okpon idem esie : 'Ata bigs himself'

(v) *Ata ama mi nnyaŋa idem esie: 'Ata likes me to help himself'

If, however, the VB is additionally marked [+Suf], as in the following structure:

S.D.	X	NP	AUX	VB	NP	NP	Y
				[+Suf]			
	1	2	3	4	5	6	7

where 2 = 5

then when the rule applies, the feature [+Refl] is attracted, as it were, to the VB, instead of the NP 5, by the feature [+Suf]. The output is the following structure:

X	NP	AUX	VB	NP	NP	Y
			[+Suf +Refl]			
1	2	3	4	5	6	7

A structure like the above is then an input to a related rule called Reflexivizable NP Deletion. This rule obligatorily deletes 5, which is a reflexivizable /

reflexivizable NP which failed to reflexivize.

34.b. Partial Deletion of Reflexive Pronoun: (Optional):

S.D. X N ART AUX VB N ART Y

					+Pro +Refl -No αPer	+Pro +Refl -No αPer	
1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8

Conditions: Both 6 and 7 are identical in the features [+Pro], [+Refl], as well as features of number and person.

S.C. 1 2 3 4 5 6 Ø 8

35. Concord Rule:

S.D. X NP [C] VB NP Y
AUX AUX

1 2 3 4 5 6

Conditions: 2 is immediately dominated by the S node and C by the AUX

S.C. (a) Operations: Copy features of Number and Person of 2 onto 3 and then attach 3 to 4.

(b) Output:

1 2 Ø 3 + 4 5 6
-No -No
αPer αPer

Later 3 is realised as a prefix of the VB.

36. ART Deletion (Obligatory)

S.D. X (W) N (Z) ART Y

				[±Def +Dem]	
1	2	3	4	5	6

where W is a QUANT or a WH and Z a NOM or NUM

S.C. (a) Operations: Delete 5 if it is [-Def], or if it is [+Def -Dem] and 3 is [+Pro] or [-Common].

(b) Output: 1 2 3 4 Ø 6

Problems: NPs such as etubom and edidem (the headmaster and the king respectively) still present a problem since like etubom oro (the headmaster) and edidem oro (the king), these NPs are Definite, even though they have no explicit articles at the surface /

surface level, unlike most definite common NPs. Note that etubom and edidem, and etubom oro and edidem oro are not semantically equivalent. Under our analysis, we can conveniently generate etubom oro and edidem oro but not etubom and edidem as definite NPs. However, as indefinite NPs they can be generated in our grammar.

37.a Possessive Pronominalization:

S.D. [S X NP AUX VB N NP Y]S
1 2 3 4 5 6 7

Conditions:

(1) 2 and 6 are coreferential;

(2) 6 is immediately preceded by an N which must be [-Pro];

(3) The N that immediately precedes 6 must be the head noun of the Det that dominates 6.

S.C. (a) Operations: Add [+Pro] to 6 (if it is not a pronoun itself) as well as [+Pos].

(b) Output: 1 2 3 4 5 6 7

[+Pro
+Pos]

Later 6 will be realised as esie, mm), etc. depending on the number and person of 6 itself.

37.b. Possessive Intensification:

S.D. X [N, NP] [NP, INT] Y
NP NOM NOM
DET DET DET NP
1 2 3 4 5

Conditions:

(a) Both 3 and 4 are immediately dominated by DET

(b) 3 is [+Pos] as well as [+Sing].

S.C. Operation: Introduce mm)ŋ as a constituent of 4

Output: 1 2 3 4 5
mm)ŋ

37.c. Possessive Pronoun Deletion (Optional):

S.D. X NP AUX VB N [NP] Y
NOM NOM
DET DET
1 2 3 4 5 6 7

Conditions:

(1) 2 and 6 are [+III] and coreferential

(2) /

(2) 5 is 'inalienable' to 6

(3) 6 is not followed by INT as a constituent that is dominated by the same NOM that dominates 6 itself.

S.C. 1. 2 3 4 5 ø 7

37.d. N Replacement in a Possessive NP

S.D. (a) X N [NP [NOM DET] [NOM DET]] ye N [NP [NOM DET] [NOM DET]] Y

NP NP NP NP NP NP

1 2 3 4 5 6 7

(b) X N ART AUX N [NP [NOM DET] [NOM DET]] Y

NP NP

S PRED PRED S

1 2 3 4 5 6 7

Conditions

(a)(1) 2 - 6 must be a conjoined NP;

(2) 2 and 5 must be identical but not coreferential;

(3) 3 and 6 must each be dominated by a DET that is a sister of 2 and 5 respectively.

(b)(1) 1 - 7 must be an S;

(2) 2 and 5 are coreferential;

(3) 6 is dominated by a DET that is a sister of 5.

S.C. (a) Operation : Replace 5 with eke

Output : 1 2 3 4 eke 6 7

(b) Operation : Replace 5 with eke

Output : 1 2 3 4 eke 6 7

38.a. Relativization:

S.D. Y [N ART [+Def -Dem] N ART [+Def -Dem] AUX VB NP] AUX VB (NP) Y

S S

NP NP

1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9 10 11 12

Conditions:

(1) 2 - 8 is an NP and 4 - 5 is also an NP and they both refer to each other /

other;

(2) 3 and 5 are [-Dem].

S.C. (a) Operations: (1) Mark 4 [+Pro] as well as [+Rel];

(2) Introduce the subordination marker -de on the subordinate VB, i.e. 7;

(3) Delete 3 optionally, if it is [+Def] and obligatorily if [-Def];

(4) If 4 is not at the beginning of the embedded S at the time the rule applies, move it to that position (this applies to non-subject NPs which are relativized.

(b) Possible Output:

1 2 3 4 Ø 6 7 8 9 10 11

[+Pro, +Rel]

A Problem

Although condition (2) correctly disallows the sentences in (i), it also disallows those in Footnote 1 of Chapter 8, which are repeated here as (ii):

(i)a.*Mmoto emi emi afo akanyamde ɔn ɔmi abiara
1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8
'This car which you sold me is spoiled'
2 1 3 4 5 7 --8-------

(i)b.*Akparawa oko emi okoyomde fi edi ndisime
1 2 3 4 5 6 7
'Yonder youth who looked for you is a fool'
2 1 3 4 5 6 7

(ii)a. Ami emi emi ndude mi ŋkpedɔhɔ ete oro
1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8
'This I who am here wouldn't marry the man'
2 1 3 4 5 --------6----- 8 7

(ii)b. Afo oro emi etiede do ukpenyimeke
1 2 3 4 5 6
'You there who are there wouldn't agree'
1 2 3 4 5 --------6-----

38.b. Relative Clause Reduction (Obligatory if the embedded clause VB is [-V +Adj])

S.D. X NP AUX NP NP AUX VB Y

[±V, +Adj]

S S

PRED PRED

1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8

Conditions /

Conditions:

(1) 4 - 7 is dominated by a Pred;

(2) 4 and 5 are coreferential;

(3) 7, or the embedded clause VB, is [+Adj].

S.C. (a) Operations: (1) Delete 5 and 6 and then permute 4 with 7.

(2) If 7 is [+V], optionally delete 4.

(b) Output: Either 1 2 3 Ø Ø Ø 7 4 , or 1 2 3 Ø Ø Ø 7 Ø

The rule derives sentences like (1) from (2):

(1)a. Ata edi ediye owo : 'Ata is a handsome man'

(1)b. Ata eye (owo) : 'Ata is a handsome man'

(2)a. Ata edi owo emi eyede : 'Ata is a man who is handsome'

(2)b.*Ata edi owo emi edide ediye : 'Ata is a man who is handsome'

The Relative Clause Reduction Rule should precede the Relativization Rule itself, so that if the former does not apply, the latter will apply obligatorily.

39. S Preposing Rule (Optional) :

S.D. Either (a) X NP VP [S] Y
ADJT ADJT

1 2 3 4 5

Or (b) X [S] VP Y
NP NP

1 2 3 4

where X and Y are null elements.

Conditions:

In (a) the S must be dominated by ADJT, while in (b) the S must be dominated by an NP which is itself dominated immediately by the matrix S on the left (i.e. the S in (b) must be dominated by a Subject NP).

S.C. (a) 1 4 2 3 5

(b) 1 3 2 4

Examples:

With (a) kind of structure the rule generates (1b) from (1a) and with (b) kind of structure it generates (2b) from (2a):

(1)a. Nnyekut Bassey edieke enye edide: 'I will see Bassey if he comes'

(1)b. /

(1)b. Edieke enye edide nnyekut Bassey : 'If he comes, I will see Bassey'

(2)a. Ndikut mi enem Bassey esit : 'To see me pleases Bassey'

(2)b. Enem Bassey esit ndikut mi : 'It pleases Bassey to see me'

40. Simple Pronominalization (Obligatory if only single pairs of Subject-Subject or Object-Object NPs are coreferential)

S.D.	X	N [-Pro]	ART	AUX	VB	(N [-Pro]	ART)	N [-Pro]	ART	AUX	VB	(N [-Pro]	ART)	Y
	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11	12	13	14

where X and Y are null elements and where 8 - 13 are an S and are dominated either by ADJT or VP in the matrix S.

Conditions:

(1) N ART is an NP

(2) an NP in the matrix S is coreferential with another NP in the embedded S

(3) if the NP to be pronominalized precedes the other coreferent NP, the former must be in the embedded clause and both NPs must not be objects in their respective S's.

S.C. Operations: Let us assume that 2 &3 and 8 & 9, which are NPs respectively, are coreferential, then

(1) change the feature [-Pro] to [+Pro] on 8 and delete 9.

Output : 1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 [+Pro] Ø 10 11 12 13 14

41. Indirect Discourse Formation (Obligatory):

S.D.	X	NP	AUX	VB	NP	NP	AUX	VB	NP	Y
	S		VP	[+DD]		S				S
	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10

Conditions:

(1) 4, the matrix VB, is [+DD] (Direct Discourse);

(2) 2, the subject of the matrix, is [+Animate], or if it is [-Animate], 5, the matrix object, must be [+Animate];

(3) 6 - 10, the embedded S, is a complement clause (generally object complement but could be subject too).

S.C. /

S.C. Operations: (1) By the Principle of Coreference in Direct Discourse, the First Person in the complement clause is obligatorily marked coreferential with either the matrix subject or object, given condition (2).

(2) ami/nnyin is changed to imɔ/mmimɔ as the case may be.

The Rule affects any first person in any form, in so far as there is a proper analysis, thus idem mmi (myself) and moto mmi (my car) in (1) are changed to idem imɔ and moto imɔ in (2):

(1)a.Ata ɔdɔhɔ , "Nnyaŋa idem mmi":'Ata has said, "I'm helping myself" '

(1)b.Ata ɔdɔhɔ ,"ŋwat moto mmi": 'Ata has said, "I'm driving my car" '

(2)a.Ata ɔdɔhɔ ete imɔ inyaŋa idem imɔ:'Ata has said that he is helping himself'

(2)b.Ata ɔdɔhɔ ete imɔ iwat moto imɔ:'Ata has said that he is driving his car'

42. Deletion Rules

Optional Deletion rules on the whole appear to apply quite late in the grammar.

Place-Holder NP Deletion and Pronoun Deletion in Complex and Conjoined Structures:

These two rules are each more or less a rule schema, since they each collapse into one a number of rules which apply in different configurations but essentially requiring the same kinds of operations and the same, or similar, kinds of conditions. Thus for example although the pronouns may be different kinds of pronouns, they all require the same coreference condition. On the other hand, in the cases of Place-Holder NPs, although they require different linguistic environments for deletion, these NPs are essentially alike in function. The alternative would be to consider the various rules as separate and independent rules and derive them as such. In that case, the S.D.s on which these rules operate will depend on the particular configuration. In our view this approach would miss some generalizations.

43. Subject Deletion (Optional):

S.D. $\begin{bmatrix} X & NP & C + VB & NP & Y \\ & [+Pro] & & & \\ & \alpha No & \alpha No & & \\ S & \beta Per & \beta Per & & S \\ 1 & 2 & 3 & 4 & 5 \end{bmatrix}$

where [+Pro] should be interpreted to mean 'Personal Pronoun'.

Conditions:

(1) 2 is [+Pro] and is immediately dominated by the S node on the left;

(2) the Concord Rule (Rule 35) has already applied attaching C onto the VB as a prefix.

(3) if 2 is [+III], then S must be a simplex.

S.C. 1 $\emptyset$ 3 4 5

REFERENCES

The items listed here are those actually referred to in the body of this thesis. It is not intended as a bibliography of works on Efik nor of those aspects of the linguistic theory covered.

Abbreviations:

ALS	AFRICAN LANGUAGE STUDIES
FL	FOUNDATIONS OF LANGUAGE.
JL	JOURNAL OF LINGUISTICS
L	LANGUAGE
LI	LINGUISTIC INQUIRY

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